
**Jubilee Volume
of the
Oriental
Collection
1951–1976**



Budapest · 1978

*Jubilee Volume
of the
Oriental
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1951–1976*

Keleti Tanulmányok

Oriental Studies

2

Editor: Éva Apor

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Oriental Collection of the
Library of the Hungarian Academy
of Sciences*

*Edited by
Éva Apor*



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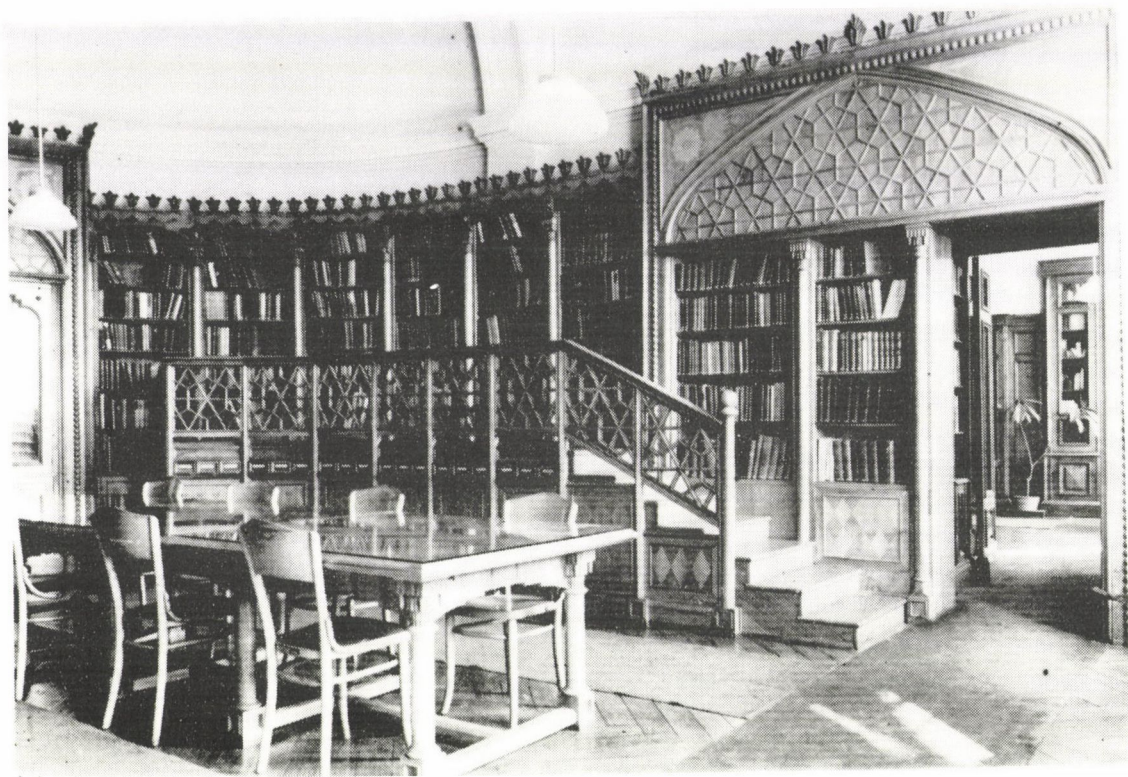
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L. LIGETI

LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'ACADÉMIE ET LES ÉTUDES ORIENTALES

La branche d'études la plus étendue et la plus riche en résultats des études orientales de Hongrie s'occupe de la langue, de l'histoire, de la vie passée et actuelle du peuple turc et des peuples qui lui sont apparentés. Cette discipline s'est développée nécessairement au cours des recherches relatives à l'histoire de la langue et de l'histoire du peuple hongrois.

Les Hongrois, peuple cavalier nomadisant, après avoir quitté la communauté ougrienne, se mirent en rapport plus ou moins étroit avec de nombreux peuples orientaux au cours de leurs migrations. Parmi ces derniers, on a réussi à identifier jusqu'ici un certain nombre de peuples turcs, tels que les Bulgaro-turcs, les Khazars, les Ouzes ou Oghouzes et les Pétchenègues et deux peuples iraniens: les Alains et les Khwarezmiens. Ces données ont pu être dégagées des événements, difficiles à saisir, des siècles antérieurs à l'arrivée des Hongrois dans leur pays actuel. Quant aux temps qui suivirent la conquête du pays, on peut reconstituer plus nettement le rôle joué par les Pétchenègues et les Ouzes établis en Hongrie, l'apparition des Comans, l'invasion des Mongols qui ont ravagé le pays comme une tempête dévastatrice, et la place occupée, dans notre histoire, par les Iaziges et les Kaliz.[1] Les phases les plus importantes des rapports entre les Tatares de la Crimée et les Hongrois sont assez bien connus; il n'est pas nécessaire de parler ici d'une manière détaillée des problèmes qui se posent dans ce domaine, on peut dire impossible à démêler, de l'époque de la domination turque.

L'attention se concentra, dès le début, sur la conquête de la Hongrie et sur les siècles antérieurs. Dès que les chroniques, nos plus anciennes sources autochtones se mettent à parler, leurs premières paroles sont: patrie d'origine, conquête du pays, établissement des tribus. Mais leur récit est un enchevêtrement inextricable de faits réels, de légendes, d'informations fausses ou mal comprises empruntées à des sources écrites plus anciennes, ou parfois même de la déformation tendencieuse d'événements réels.

Ces chroniques ont perpétué de nombreux problèmes dont l'interprétation exacte et la solution (si tant est qu'on les ait résolus) a exigé beaucoup d'efforts de plusieurs générations de chercheurs. Pour ce travail, il a fallu

recourir à toutes les sources supposées intéressantes de l'époque, tant orientales qu'occidentales et plus tard, à la littérature scientifique internationale qui augmentait sans cesse. Il est intéressant de suivre avec attention, dans les revues et dans les publications de l'Académie, les péripéties que traversent ces problèmes, parfois au milieu de violentes polémiques, et l'entêtement avec lequel d'anciennes erreurs essaient de se maintenir face aux solutions justes trouvées récemment. Les armes nécessaires aux combats menés pour des thèses scientifiquement justes ont été fournies en premier lieu par la Bibliothèque de l'Académie.

Nous ne mentionnons ici, à titre d'exemples que quelques uns des longs débats du passé.

Le rapport hunno-hongrois. Cette hypothèse se présente d'abord sous forme de la prétendue descendance d'Árpád de la famille d'Attila; peu après, on voit paraître, dans les chroniques occidentales, l'idée de l'identité des Huns et des Hongrois. C'est de cette identification que résulte la théorie de la conquête en deux temps du pays par les Hunno-Hongrois, théorie qui devait remplacer la légende du cheval blanc, comme argument appuyant la légitimité de la conquête du pays. Enfin György Pray vint: ce fondateur de l'historiographie critique hongroise quitta le monde des chroniques et envisagea l'histoire des Huns, des Avars et des Hongrois dans une large perspective. Sa source est la grande oeuvre de Deguignes, historiographe et sinologue français, dans laquelle l'auteur a publié la traduction des sources chinoises relatives à l'histoire des Huns, de différents peuples turcs et des Mongols et il a essayé — en les confrontant avec les sources occidentales — de broser un tableau cohérent de l'histoire de ces peuples. C'est lui qui a identifié, le premier, le peuple hiong-nou des sources chinoises avec les Huns d'Attila, et les Jouan-jouans avec les Avars; il a consacré un chapitre à part aux Hongrois parmi les autres peuples tartares. Les recherches ultérieures ont montré clairement que la légende hunno-hongroise est d'origine livresque et que les Hongrois de la conquête arpadienne ne la connaissaient pas encore.

Dans nos chroniques, nous ne retrouvons pas trace de l'identification des Avars aux Hongrois, mais il en est question dans celles de l'occident (Widukind 967; Gottfried de Viterbe). De nos jours cependant, nous avons vu se former, chez nous aussi, la théorie de la conquête du pays en deux temps par les Avars (tardifs) et les Hongrois. Selon cette hypothèse, les Avars de la nouvelle vague de migration avare arrivée vers 670, auraient été des Hongrois. La vérité est que, chez les Avars, il faut tenir compte de deux couches faciles à différencier aussi du point de vue chronologique. La première, la plus ancienne présente des traits anthropologiques mongoloïdes; ses monuments présentent des analogies avec ceux de la Sibérie du sud, cette couche parlait le mongol. L'autre, la plus récente, est d'origine bulgare (koutrigour) et elle avait des caractéristiques anthropologiques et artistiques conformes à cette origine; leur langue était une langue turque.[2]

Les recherches sur l'histoire, la langue et les monuments des Huns et des Avars, ainsi que sur les antécédents qui les attachent à la Haute Asie, restent pour l'avenir aussi une des principales préoccupations de nos recherches orientales.

La patrie d'origine. Selon nos chroniques, elle était située dans la Scythie. Cette localisation d'origine livresque s'est avérée être historiquement nulle, mais elle est à l'origine d'un faux patriotisme "scythique" de mauvais aloi. C'est en vain qu'on a démontré, très clairement, que les Scythes étaient un peuple d'origine et de langue iranienne. Géza Nagy, l'archéologue a essayé de les présenter comme "un peuple touranien authentique" en 1905 dans son discours de réception de membre correspondant de l'Académie. Mais les recherches sur la patrie d'origine ne se donnaient pas pour but d'explorer la Scythie. Les anciennes sources historiques hongroises et étrangères parlent de deux groupes hongrois restés en Orient; l'un était celui des Savardes qui se sont établis dans "les régions persanes", et l'autre celui des Hongrois de Maior Hungaria ou Magna Hungaria. Ces fragments ethniques ont été anéantis par l'invasion des Mongols et pendant les temps qui la suivirent, et ceux qui ont survécu, se dispersèrent et furent assimilés par les peuples environnants. János Theodor Gáspár a proposé à l'Académie d'envoyer une expédition scientifique à leur recherche, mais au mémoire qu'il a présenté à ce sujet, Ferenc Toldy, secrétaire de l'Académie a répondu en 1858 que "l'Académie ne peut accorder au voyage proposé ni un soutien matériel ni un appui moral".[3] En même temps, l'Académie ne refusait pas son assistance aux chercheurs érudits qualifiés. C'est ainsi que furent envoyés en Orient Antal Reguly, József Pápay, Bernát Munkácsi, Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna et beaucoup d'autres encore pour recueillir des matériaux linguistiques et folkloriques finno-ougriens, turco-tatares et même mongols.

L'origine de la langue hongroise. On sait qu'après le dilettantisme des linguistes fantaisistes des débuts, la bataille décisive se livra entre deux membres de grande autorité de l'Académie: József Budenz et Ármin Vámbéry. Cette guerre "turco-ougrienne" se termina par la victoire éclatante de Budenz: il s'est avéré incontestablement que la langue hongroise est d'origine finno-ougrienne et que les éléments turcs qui se trouvent dans son vocabulaire, y sont entrés comme most d'emprunt. Toutefois, la défaite de Vámbéry ne pouvait pas être considérée comme un échec: elle a donné un très grand nombre de renseignements utiles pour les recherches ultérieures sur l'histoire des rapports turco-hongrois. Mais surtout, le mérite impérissable de Vámbéry est d'avoir imprimé, à la turcologie hongroise, une impulsion et une physionomie qui continuent à agir jusqu'à nos jours.

Cependant la linguistique fantaisiste ne se rendit toujours pas à l'évidence, elle a continué son chemin même à l'intérieur de l'Académie. Lajos Podhorszky par exemple, dans son discours inaugural de membre correspondant de l'Académie, (tenu 18 ans après son élection), a essayé de prouver l'origine, selon lui, chinoise de la langue hongroise.[4]

L'appartenance de la langue comane. Un débat non moins passionné, bien que dans un cercle plus restreint, s'est élevé aussi autour de ce problème, tout comme au sujet de l'origine de la langue hongroise. Originellement, les Comans parlaient une langue turque spécifique qui appartenait au groupe kiptchak des langues turques. Nos Comans ont perdu leur langue originale (tout comme nos Iazyges — qui ont parlé une langue iranienne — la leur) et ont adopté la langue hongroise. Nous ne connaissons pas la date exacte de ce changement, mais il semble en tous cas que ce processus s'est terminé, pour l'essentiel, à la fin du XVI^e siècle. L'adoption de la langue hongroise par les Comans était tellement générale et complète qu'à partir du XVIII^e siècle, tout le monde était persuadé, y compris Pray qui était d'ailleurs si bien informé, que les Comans étaient, primitivement aussi, de langue hongroise. István Gyárfás, membre correspondant de l'Académie et historiographe zélé des Comano-iazyges a persisté dans cette erreur jusqu'à sa mort.[5]

Ces débats ne laissaient pas d'être très fructueux malgré leurs erreurs: il apparut qu'une approche efficace de ces problèmes n'est possible que si on les envisage dans une large perspective. L'examen des rapports avec les peuples turcs a donné naissance à la turcologie indépendante de l'étude de ses rapports avec la Hongrie, et — pour son interprétation plus juste — aux études altaïques. L'étude des ressorts plus éloignés des mouvements ethniques de l'Europe orientale dirigea l'attention sur la Haute Asie. De là, il ne fallait faire qu'un seul pas pour reconnaître que pour faire des recherches fructueuses sur l'histoire des peuples de la Haute Asie, il est indispensable de faire entrer en lignes les sources chinoises, — ce que Pray savait déjà, bien que de seconde main. Telle est l'origine de la sinologie hongroise qui, grâce à sa manière originale et autonome de poser des problèmes, a pu bientôt s'élever au niveau de la sinologie internationale. Enfin, à l'occasion du centenaire de la mort de Csoma de Kőrös, la langue tibétaine se fit également entendre à l'université de Budapest. Les grandes expéditions menées dans la Haute Asie, particulièrement dans l'Asie Centrale au commencement de notre siècle ont mis à jour des manuscrits tibétains qui contenaient d'importantes informations nouvelles sur l'histoire de la Haute Asie. En même temps, la connaissance, de première main, de l'immense littérature bouddhique du Tibet s'avérait indispensable pour la compréhension du bouddhisme ouïgour et mongol. Enfin, mais non pas en dernier lieu, ce domaine des études tibétaines devint une des bases importantes des recherches modernes sur l'histoire des religions.

Certaines branches des recherches orientales sont, — chez nous aussi comme à l'étranger — d'origine théologique. Nous pensons, d'abord, à certaines langues bibliques (l'hébreu, l'araméen, le syrien, etc.). C'est de là que partirent János Uri qui, au XVIII^e siècle, a catalogué les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Bodléienne d'Oxford; Mihály Kmoskó qui a publié un gros volume sur la Patrologie Syrienne avant de mettre à profit ses connaissances d'excellent arabisant dans ses recherches sur les sources de la protohistoire des Hongrois; József Aistleitner, chercheur de renom international du matériel sémitique d'Ugarit; Ignác Goldziher, l'arabisant, investigateur de l'Islam, réputé à son époque.

Il n'est pas de notre devoir de passer en revue ici, si schématiquement que se soit, les recherches anciennes et modernes faites dans les autres domaines des études orientales. Nous devons mentionner, néanmoins, que les problèmes linguistiques, historiques, etc. du Proche-Orient antique (Égypte, etc.) appartiennent à ces domaines, tout autant que les études caucasiennes (arménien, géorgien), iraniennes (scythe, alain, ossète, bactrien, etc.), indiennes. Si nous mentionnons, encore une fois, l'arabe et le persan, c'est pour signaler que dans ces domaines, nous pouvons compter sur de nouveaux résultats modernes qui vont poursuivre des traditions fort respectables.

Notre Académie a joué, depuis le commencement, un rôle indiscutablement important dans la fondation et l'évolution de nos études orientales: elle a assuré un forum scientifique aux représentants des thèses discutées pour y développer leurs opinions (à cette époque, les séances de discussions n'étaient pas encore instaurées); elle a successivement publié leurs études et leurs livres.

Cette activité de l'Académie était secondée, dès le début, par la Bibliothèque. A côté des achats systématiques (dont les possibilités se réduisaient, de temps en temps, au minimum, comme on le sait), l'échange de publications a fourni une littérature scientifique que seules les générations suivantes ont pu apprécier à sa juste valeur. Ainsi par exemple, il suffit de mentionner les publications en langue russe d'avant la première guerre mondiale acquises par notre Bibliothèque; parmi elles, on trouve des collections, des revues et des monographies qui sont indispensables aux turcologues ou aux mongolisans, et que l'on cherche en vain même dans les bibliothèques incomparablement plus grandes que les nôtres, de Paris, par exemple.

Au cours des temps, un fonds très important et de plus en plus précieux d'ouvrages d'orientalisme s'est amassé dans la Bibliothèque. Ce fonds s'est enrichi, en dehors des sources traditionnelles — les achats et les échanges par les dons de mécènes, cela pas pour la moindre part. Dans ce fonds de littérature orientale, les manuscrits ont acquis une importance toute particulière et à côté d'eux — et dans certains domaines, — les imprimés orientaux appartiennent également au nombre des spécimens rares.

Notre Bibliothèque tient registre du nom de ceux aussi qui ont enrichi ses fonds orientaux, occasionnellement, d'un livre ou d'une collection de quelques volumes. Nous ne pouvons point les énumérer dans le cadre de cette esquisse. Même en ce qui concerne les collections plus importantes, nous devons nous borner à n'en mettre en relief que quelques-unes, les plus importantes, car ce sont elles qui donnent une valeur spéciale à la collection orientale de notre Bibliothèque.

Il convient de parler d'abord du fonds Dániel SZILÁGYI que l'Académie a acquis sur la proposition d'Ármin Vámbéry. [6]

Dániel Szilágyi "simple hussard pauvre" a émigré à Constantinople après la répression de la lutte pour l'indépendance hongroise de 1848 et il a vécu dans cette ville pendant 36 ans, jusqu'à sa mort survenue en 1885. Szi-

lági ne tarda pas à commencer à apprendre le turc; toute fois il ne se contenta pas de savoir parler cette langue (il fut aussi un interprète estimé) et il s'absorba aussi dans l'étude des monuments littéraires et historiques de la langue turque. Il collectionnait avec une remarquable compétence les manuscrits qui concernaient les rapports turco-hongrois, et avec une prédilection particulière ceux qui appartenaient au nombre des monuments vieux du 5 au 6 siècles de la langue turque ancienne.

L'essentiel du fonds Dániel Szilágyi est une collection de quelque 500 manuscrits. Selon l'estimation de Vámbéry, le nombre des manuscrits arabes est de vingt-cinq, et celui des manuscrits persans est de quarante. Tout le reste est de langue turque. Le plus grand nombre s'occupe de l'histoire de l'empire ottoman et a la valeur de source de première main. Selon Vámbéry, plusieurs de ces ouvrages historiques ne figurent pas parmi les sources de Hammer, et ne sont connus même pas de Feridoun bey. Parmi les sources historiques, il accorde une importance particulière surtout aux lettres de Tímour Lenk, de Chah Ismaïl, des khans de la Crimée, "des princes moscovites et européens adressées à la Porte". Selon son appréciation, cette collection de chartes contient beaucoup de pièces qui jettent un jour nouveau non seulement sur de nombreux détails de l'histoire turque, mais qui sont importantes aussi du point de vue de l'époque turco-hongroise. Selon Vámbéry, elles peuvent surtout intéresser nos historiens; "nos jeunes orientalistes rendraient un insigne service au monde savant hongrois en traduisant ces passages".

Il semble que "nos jeunes orientalistes" n'ont pas lu le rapport de Vámbéry et n'ont pas entrepris la publication des traductions proposées. Il est vrai, d'autre part, qu'ils ont publié, au lieu des chartes en question, une énorme quantité d'autres documents qui éclairent l'histoire de l'époque de la domination turque; ils les ont aussi utilisées dans leurs ouvrages, et ce travail se poursuit encore de nos jours. Il leur reste cependant à faire une publication très importante: celle des documents tatares qui éclairent les relations des Khans de la Crimée avec la Hongrie. Les Khans de la Crimée devinrent, à partir de 1477, les vassaux de la Porte, mais leurs rapports antérieurs avec la Hongrie ne cessèrent pas; — au contraire, ils devinrent plus intenses.

Parmi les manuscrits relatifs à l'époque de la domination turque, Vámbéry met en relief le 'Fındıklı tarihi', le détail d'un fragment de 'Heşt bihişt' de Idris Bidlisi, l'histoire de Küçük Nişancı, la description des combats de Hasân Pacha qu'il a livrés dans les environs de Szeged, de Kanizsa et ailleurs, l'histoire de Husein Pacha, la description de la campagne de Mahomet IV. D'autres manuscrits d'oeuvres ottomanes font un récit remarquablement détaillé de la campagne de Temesvár, du siège de Kószeg, de Kanizsa et d'Eger.

Mais à côté des manuscrits, le fonds Dániel Szilágyi comprend aussi une collection qui assure un rang international aux Turcica de Budapest. Il contient, notamment, une collection de richesses et de beautés incomparables de l'ancienne langue turque, de l'ancien osmanli, collection qui n'a son pareil que dans quelques rares bibliothèques de l'Europe. Jusqu'à nos jours, cette merveilleuse collection n'a pas été l'objet d'un compte rendu détaillé. Un seul des ouvrages qui la composent, a été soumis à une analyse scientifique approfondie: c'est l'ouvrage poétique

d'Ibn Hatib, le 'Ferah-nâme' de 1425-6 (le manuscrit est une copie faite en 1521-2). [7]

Les monuments manuscrits en turc ancien ne sont pas uniquement de l'époque osmanlie; il y a, parmi eux, beaucoup d'oeuvres qui sont des monuments de la langue djaghataï, et même, semble-t-il, une autre qui remonte à une époque plus ancienne. Ces manuscrits méritent une attention particulière par suite de l'intérêt accru que l'on porte récemment à ces langues et littératures turques orientales.

Szilágyi s'intéressait vivement aux dictionnaires; c'est grâce à cette curiosité que nous trouvons dans son legs, un bon nombre de dictionnaires et de lexiques: turco-arabe, turco-persan, et même djaghataï.

En dehors des manuscrits, Szilágyi collectionnait avec un grand soin aussi les livres turcs imprimés, et, en premier lieu, les plus anciens.

Il est notoire que le fondateur et pionnier de la typographie turque, Ibrahim Efendi, était d'origine hongroise; il est né en 1674 à Kolozsvár (son nom original est inconnu). [8] Tombé en captivité, il apprit le turc, se convertit à l'Islam. Il remplissait aussi des fonctions d'interprète, entre autres à Rodosto auprès du groupe d'émigrés hongrois dirigés par Rákóczi. En se donnant de la peine, il a réussi à vaincre, avec l'appui de ses protecteurs, l'antipathie que les Turcs manifestaient contre l'impression des livres. Il a fondé son imprimerie où il produisit 17 oeuvres en 23 volumes. Szilágyi recueillait avec un grand zèle tout ce qui lui tombait sous la main de ce qu'avait produit l'imprimerie d'Ibrahim Efendi (il réussit même à acquérir certaines oeuvres en plusieurs exemplaires). Vámbéry mentionne, parmi elles, l'ouvrage historique de Rasid et Naïma. Toutefois il se procura aussi un exemplaire de tout ouvrage accessible imprimé plus tard; selon l'appréciation de Vámbéry cette collection n'a sa pareille que dans peu de bibliothèques de l'étranger.

A la fin de son rapport, Vámbéry a proposé de faire rédiger le catalogue, en langue hongroise et française, de tous les manuscrits et imprimés orientaux de l'Académie. Malheureusement, cette proposition n'a pas été exécutée jusqu'à ce jour. N'a pas été exécutée non plus cette autre proposition de Vámbéry — évidemment non par manque de bonne volonté — selon laquelle le fonds Dániel Szilágyi devait être installé dans une salle à part et confié aux soins d'un orientaliste compétent. Néanmoins, conformément au vœu de Vámbéry, on a fait l'acquisition d'un portrait de Dániel Szilágyi. Ce portrait a été longtemps exposé en évidence dans la galerie de portraits semblables conservés à l'Académie, mais actuellement, il se trouve dans un endroit inconnu, s'il n'a pas été détruit pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale.

La collection CSOMA de Kőrös.

Sa base est la collection de manuscrits et de xylographies tibétains qui étaient jadis la propriété personnelle de Csoma de Kőrös; il a donné la plus grande partie du matériel tibétain recueilli dans les lamaserie à la Bibliothèque de la

Société Asiatique du Bengale. Cette collection personnelle entra dans la possession de S. C. Malan comme cadeau de Csoma en 1839. En 1884 (ou peu après), Malan fit don de cette collection à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Hongroise.

Selon une information de Malan donnée antérieurement à Duka, la collection se composait "d'environ 30" volumes. Par contre, le don de Malan, lorsqu'il arriva à Budapest, se composait de 43 unités, dont 14 manuscrits et le reste en xylographies. Lajos Gyula Nagy qui fut le premier à reclasser le matériel tibétain de Csoma, a réuni plusieurs unités formant un ensemble; il les a rangés dans un ordre thématique comportant 38 numéros; puis il a essayé de les analyser à l'aide des modestes instruments de travail qu'il avait à sa disposition. Un nouveau catalogue détaillé de la collection a été fait par József Terjék. [9]

Comme Lajos Gyula Nagy l'a déjà signalé, ces ouvrages ont été utilisés par Csoma pour ses publications; les pages des manuscrits portent les traces de l'usage et les notes marginales en hongrois qu'on voit sur elles, sont probablement de Csoma lui-même.

Une particularité remarquable des manuscrits de la collection Csoma est qu'ils ont été écrits en partie par trois lamas érudits à sa demande, sur des questions posées par lui. Ainsi ces ouvrages appartiennent à une catégorie tardive du genre appelé "questions", qui n'est point inconnu dans la littérature bouddhique. Huit des quatorze manuscrits de notre collection peuvent être classés dans ce groupe intéressant.

Dans le colophon de ces manuscrits, les auteurs tibétains expliquent qu'ils ont fait l'ouvrage en guise de réponse aux questions de Skan-dhar ou Skandhar bheg qui est arrivé du lointain pays de Rum pour étudier la Doctrine. Skan-dhar, c'est-à-dire Alexandre tout autant que Rum (ou Rgya-gar Rum-yul) signifie Europe, et cela sous la forme adaptée au tibétain du persan Iskandar et de Rûm. Comme nous le savons de Csoma lui-même, il connaissait bien la langue persane et il reçut ses premières connaissances de la langue tibétaine d'une personne tibétaine qui comprenait le persan.

Ces manuscrits eurent un retentissement international lorsqu'en 1925, Shuttleworth, au cours d'un voyage dans la province de Zans-dkar, a découvert, dans la lamaserie Rjon-khul un manuscrit auquel A. H. Francke, le tibétisant connu a donné le titre "Die Fragen Alexander's". C'est après cette découverte que nous avons constaté que le manuscrit nouvellement découvert était une copie et qu'il était très possible que plusieurs autres manuscrits analogues eussent été mis en circulation — sous forme de copies, — du moins dans les lamaseries où Csoma avait séjourné et travaillé. Un de nos collègues indiens a l'intention de publier prochainement les fac-similés des manuscrits "Alexander's Questions" de Budapest avec l'étude d'un tibétisant hongrois.

Le reste de la collection provient de Tivadar Duka, premier biographe de Csoma dont il a cultivé la mémoire avec beaucoup de zèle. Il a fait don de sa collection à l'Académie; il l'a fait suivre, plus tard, aussi d'une armoire-bibliothèque richement ornée. Après la répression de la lutte pour la liberté en 1849 Tivadar Duka, ancien aide de camp de Görgey, émigra en Angleterre où il acquit un diplôme en médecine, puis reçut un poste de médecin-major en l'Inde Orientale. Là, il

avait toutes les possibilités d'aller à la recherche des documents relatifs à l'activité de Csoma. Duka était membre de notre Académie, son éloge fut prononcé par Aurél Stein.

Parmi nos collections orientales, une place éminente est réservée à la bibliothèque de Dávid KAUFMANN.

Dávid Kaufmann, hébraïsant érudit, était, à partir de 1877, professeur de l'Ecole Centrale des Rabbins de Budapest. Il a réuni sa bibliothèque pendant un temps relativement court avec une compétence et un zèle admirables et, bien sûr, favorisé aussi par la bonne fortune. Il n'était âgé que de 42 ans, lorsqu'il mourut à Karlsbad en 1899. La famille du défunt fit don de la bibliothèque avec tout son équipement à l'Académie.

Les comptes rendus préliminaires dont Miksa Weisz puis Ignác Goldziher furent les auteurs donnent une idée assez exacte de la valeur extraordinaire de cette bibliothèque.[10]

Comme Goldziher l'a déjà signalé, la valeur de la collection Kaufmann réside dans le fait qu'elle ne doit pas son existence à la curiosité fantaisiste et dilettante due aux hasards d'un amateur, mais au travail d'acquisition systématique et toujours conscient de son but d'un savant chercheur bien informé, qui recueillait tout ce qui avait rapport aux sujets de recherche qui l'occupaient. La partie la plus importante de la bibliothèque provient du legs de savants spécialistes, en premier lieu de l'Italie.

Ce qu'il y a de plus précieux dans la bibliothèque Kaufmann, c'est un fonds de 594 manuscrits; presque toutes les époques et tous les domaines de la littérature de langue hébraïque y sont représentés. On trouve, parmi eux, des textes hébreux importants accompagnés de traductions en araméen et en arabe et de gloses.

Goldziher, en appréciant la portée de la collection des manuscrits, a groupé ses remarques selon trois points de vue.

Il parle d'abord des manuscrits qui sont des pièces uniques ou qui sont à classer parmi les raretés. On comprend que Goldziher, spécialiste de l'Islam, met en relief, dans ce groupe, des spécimens qui concernent de près sa spécialité et dont il a utilisé plusieurs dans ses propres ouvrages; quant aux autres, il les a fait analyser et publier par ses élèves sous forme de thèses de doctorat.

Il a mis en évidence dans ce groupe, un manuscrit qui avait un lien intéressant avec l'histoire hongroise. L'oeuvre traite de la reprise du château de Buda aux Turcs en 1686 — cela en langue hébraïque, d'après le récit d'un témoin oculaire avec beaucoup d'épisodes intéressants. D'ailleurs, le manuscrit a été déjà publié et étudié par Kaufmann lui-même en 1895.

En deuxième lieu, il souligne un groupe de manuscrits dont les pièces bibliques, les poésies religieuses, etc. sont accompagnées, en partie, de gloses et de notes en langue arabe; on trouve, parmi eux, des poésies de langue arabe aussi. Ces manuscrits proviennent tous du Yémen; Kaufmann les a achetés probablement à des Arabes yéménites qui se sont établis à Jérusalem.

Ce groupe de manuscrits du Yémen a une importance que Goldziher, à son époque, ne pouvait point encore imaginer. En effet, il est apparu depuis que le Yémen était un important centre intellectuel arabe qui n'est pas uniquement susceptible d'intéresser les arabisants et les hébraïsants. C'est là qu'on a découvert, récemment, des glossaires en langue arabe, inconnus jusqu'ici qui éclairent, des lexiques turcs, mongols, byzantins, persans et arméniens.

Goldziher classe, dans le troisième groupe, les manuscrits appartenant au genre "responsum", qui contiennent des consultations données sur des questions religieuses ou privées; ces manuscrits proviennent pour la plupart de l'Italie.

Une catégorie à part des manuscrits de la collection Kaufmann est celle des lettres et fragments, en langue hébraïque et arabe, qui proviennent des Geniza d'Egypte. Goldziher a divisé ces manuscrits en deux groupes; au premier appartiennent les lettres de familles et d'affaires, ainsi que les documents officiels (des XI^e au XIII^e siècles) et à l'autre, des fragments provenant de différentes oeuvres. Goldziher fut le premier à essayer de mettre de l'ordre dans ce matériel important, mais non classé. Plus tard, au cours de ces dernières décennies, un de nos hébraïsants éminents a eu beaucoup de mérite à avoir traité scientifiquement une partie de ce matériel. Remarquons à ce propos que la plus grande partie des Geniza est entrée dans la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Cambridge, et qu'une autre partie importante est conservée à Léninegrad.

Une place particulière est due, aux 25 livres-manuscrits richement illuminés, calligraphiés pour la plupart sur des feuillets de parchemin, dont le plus grand nombre proviennent de l'Italie et le plus ancien est du XIV^e siècle. Ces manuscrits sont importants surtout du point de vue de l'histoire des arts. Le fac-similé de l'un d'eux, le 'Haggadah' Kaufmann, a été publié par notre Académie.

Nous avons encore à parler des imprimés de la Bibliothèque Kaufmann. Leur nombre dépasse les 2.000. Cette collection est relativement très riche en incunables et en imprimés anciens.

Le legs de VÁMBÉRY.

La collection composée de manuscrits et de livres imprimés d'Ármin Vámbéry fut donnée, après sa mort, à l'Académie Hongroise par son fils Rustem. Elle se compose de 660 unités, dont 56 manuscrits. La plupart de ces derniers sont de langue turque, 11 sont en persan et quelques-uns en arabe.

Seuls les manuscrits en persan ont été catalogués; on ne trouve guère, parmi eux, d'ouvrages qui, soit par leur époque, soit par leur rareté, mériteraient une attention particulière. Deux d'entre eux sont tout de même intéressants, car ils reflètent la curiosité du turcologue même dans ce domaine. Le premier est 'Badāi' al-luġat' qui est un dictionnaire persan-djaghataï pour les poésies de Ali Šir Navāi; il a été publié, depuis, par Borovkov, l'éminent turcologue soviétique, d'après une copie plus ancienne

que la nôtre (avec une reproduction en fac-similé). L'autre (une copie du XIX^e siècle) est pourtant, semble-t-il, une sorte de rareté; son titre est 'Tārih-i vafāt-i mihr-i Timūr' et il contient des légendes relatives à Timour Lenk; son auteur est inconnu. L'intérêt de cette pièce est qu'elle a été rédigée en langue persane et qu'elle fourmille de mots turcs; elle est indubitablement remarquable du point de vue de l'histoire de la langue tadjique. Vámbéry lui-même en a déjà publié des passages.

Dans la liste sommaire des manuscrits, on n'en trouve que deux en langue arabe. Le seul intérêt du premier est qu'il remonte à l'époque de la domination turque mais quant à son contenu, il n'est guère important: ce sont des commentaires du Coran.

Les manuscrits turcs mériteraient un examen plus minutieux (il n'a pas été fait non plus jusqu'à présent). Il est clair, dès maintenant que seulement une partie est en langue osmanlie. Ce sont pour la plupart des copies modernes, mais on voit, parmi eux, une oeuvre intitulée 'Camasb-nāme' qui mériterait au moins un examen approfondi, car nous connaissons un monument de l'osmanli ancien qui porte le même titre et qui a été traduit du persan en 1429. Ce n'est évidemment pas le seul qui s'avérerait intéressant du point de vue de l'histoire de la langue osmanlie.

On peut classer dans un autre groupe des manuscrits turcs, ceux que la liste provisoire a qualifiés de djaghataï et de turc oriental, évidemment d'après une définition plus ancienne de Vámbéry. Parmi eux, c'est le groupe djaghataï qui paraît plus tardif.

Le plus connu de ces derniers est le dictionnaire djaghataï intitulé 'Abušqa' de 1552. Ce glossaire, d'ailleurs peu étendu, a été publié par Vámbéry à Pest en 1862, et par Veliaminov-Zernov à St. Pétersbourg en 1869. Sur la liste, il n'y a qu'un seul autre manuscrit avec la qualification de "djaghataï". Il n'est point douteux, cependant, que parmi ceux qui y figurent avec la mention de "turc oriental", il y en a encore un bon nombre, comme par exemple le 'Mahbūb al-qulūb' qui est, sans aucun doute, une des oeuvres du célèbre poète djaghataï Navāi. Parmi les manuscrits en turc oriental, il faut mentionner au moins les suivants: le 'Ferhad u Širin' (le manuscrit est de 1533), l'oeuvre intitulée 'Hikmet' de Ahmad Yesevī qui a vécu au XIV^e siècle, et le 'Šeibāni-nāme' bien connu que son auteur, Muhammad Salih a terminé en 1506. L'ouvrage a été publié et accompagné d'une traduction allemande et de notes brèves par Vámbéry d'après une copie datée de 1510 qui est conservée à Vienne.

Il y a, parmi les imprimés du legs Vámbéry, toute une série d'ouvrages précieux et rares; on y trouve presque tous les livres importants des orientalistes contemporains; il est singulier, (mais peut-être compréhensible) que de ses propres ouvrages, on n'y en trouve qu'un seul. En ce qui concerne les imprimés, il convient de classer dans un groupe à part, ceux qui ont été publiés dans des langues orientales et dans des pays orientaux. Le plus grand nombre a été publié à Istambul en turc, mais il y en a aussi qui ont paru à Orenbourg, à Kazan. Nous trouvons aussi, parmi eux,

des livres en persan parus à Téhéran et des livres de langue arabe publiés au Caire et à Beyrouth. [11]

La mémoire de Vámbéry mériterait que l'on dresse le catalogue par matière de son legs après l'avoir fait ordonné par un spécialiste.

Un nouvel accroissement de nos fonds orientaux est dû au don de Sándor KÉGL, professeur à l'Université, membre correspondant de l'Académie. La bibliothèque léguée par Kégl se composait de 11.000 volumes. Comme on sait, Kégl cultivait, à un niveau élevé, l'histoire de la littérature persane moderne et sa bibliothèque était excellemment équipée d'oeuvres appartenant à ce domaine. Nous devons mettre en relief les 75 manuscrits orientaux de sa bibliothèque, dont une grande partie est de langue persane. Les manuscrits persans (parmi lesquels il y a aussi quelques raretés) contiennent des ouvrages littéraires et historiques persans. Le fonds contient aussi quelques manuscrits en sanscrit, en ourdou et en arabe; le catalogage de ces manuscrits reste également encore à faire. La plus grande valeur du legs est la riche littérature scientifique et les dictionnaires qui sont non moins remarquables. Le document sur la réception du legs mentionne que, à côté du fonds oriental, la bibliothèque contient aussi une précieuse collection d'auteurs classiques européens. [12]

C'est parmi les grands donateurs qu'il faut évoquer la figure d'Aurél STEIN. Il a donné de nombreux témoignages de sa reconnaissance et de son attachement à notre Académie bien avant sa décision de lui léguer sa bibliothèque. Il en a offert, déjà au cours sa vie en 1926, une partie comportant 1.112 volumes qui, en elle-même, représentait déjà une grande valeur, car elle comprenait un grand nombre d'ouvrages rares et importants à sujets orientaux, introuvables jusque là dans nos bibliothèques. Simultanément, Aurél Stein remit, à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie, les manuscrits de certaines de ses oeuvres, ainsi que les notes prises pour ses travaux. Le reste de sa bibliothèque n'est arrivé d'Angleterre où il est mort, que plusieurs années après la libération, de même que son legs à l'Académie de Hongrie. [13]

Mentionnons enfin les 8 manuscrits turcs et le manuscrit persan qui proviennent de la bibliothèque de József THÚRY. (Sa collection de livres fut déposée originairement dans la bibliothèque du lycée de Kiskunhalas; son sort ultérieur nous est inconnu.) — Dans la bibliothèque que Ferenc PULSZKY a léguée à l'Académie, il y avait un bon nombre d'ouvrages relatifs à la langue et à la littérature sanscrites. C'est par l'intermédiaire de Sándor BLUM, que notre Bibliothèque entra en possession d'une série d'importants dictionnaires, grammaires et textes orientaux.

Si schématique que soit ce passage en revue des fonds orientaux de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie, nous ne pouvons pas omettre de mentionner encore une collection petite mais non négligeable. Elle embrasse les manuscrits des oeuvres posthumes de nos orientalistes éminents. On n'y trouve que

rarement des ouvrages achevés mais non publiés pour quelque raison (on en trouve cependant); plus fréquent est le cas où l'ouvrage est resté inachevé. Encore plus fréquemment il s'agit de matériaux linguistiques recueillis par l'auteur sur le terrain (par exemple dans des camps de prisonniers de la première guerre mondiale), qu'il n'a pu traiter et publier pour certaines raisons. Comme il appert d'un examen de ces manuscrits, dans de nombreux cas, leur publication serait possible et même désirable encore aujourd'hui; on aurait seulement besoin de spécialistes compétents et zélés (et parfois d'héritiers complaisants) pour que nous puissions régler notre dette à l'égard de nos anciens collègues.

Qu'il nous soit permis de mentionner seulement quelques-uns de ces matériaux inédits.

Les textes en langues kalmouk et khalkha recueillis par Gábor BÁLINT sont inédits.[14]

Le 'Dictionnaire comparatif hongrois-turc' de József THÚRY est resté inédit. En fait, l'auteur n'a complètement achevé que la première partie et la deuxième est faite seulement en grandes lignes. József Budenz a encore proposé de le publier; Zoltán Gombocz, tout en relevant le mérite de l'auteur, a proposé seulement que l'Académie achète le manuscrit.[15]

Les notes sur la langue ossète de Bernát MUNKÁCSI mériteraient toujours d'être éditées.[16]

Ignác KÚNOS, a recueilli un matériel linguistique intéressant en tatar de la Crimée, en tatar de Kazan, en micher et en nogai. Il y aurait un spécialiste, expert de la question, qui se chargerait volontiers des soins de la publication; il serait désirable de rendre ces notes accessible aux recherches dès que possible.[17]

Nous devons mentionner enfin le legs manuscrit de Mihály KMOŠKÓ dans lequel il a essayé de traiter le matériel, précieux du point de vue de la protohistoire hongroise, des sources syriennes et arabes. Une partie du manuscrit est rédigée en hongrois et une autre en allemand. Un de nos excellents collègues a publié un compte rendu détaillé du legs; ce compte rendu a éveillé un vif intérêt à l'étranger, on s'est même déclaré prêt à se charger de sa publication. Il serait bon d'examiner le pour et le contre d'une publication appropriée de l'ouvrage de Kmoskó, — bien que, à vrai dire, même les meilleurs manuscrits restés inédits ressentent la manque du temps. [18]

Malgré la grande valeur des collections, des revues, des séries qui se sont amassés dans la Bibliothèque soit par dons soit par achats, elles ne pouvaient pas servir d'une manière assez fructueuse le travail systématique commencé dans les études orientales, sans les soins assidus des organes centraux de l'Académie en vue de l'accroissement méthodique des fonds. C'est pour remplir cette tâche que fut créée, en 1949, après la réorganisation de l'Académie, la Collection Orientale de la Bibliothèque.

Le quart de siècle écoulé a clairement prouvé que l'on avait vraiment besoin de la Collection et que celle-ci a rempli excellemment sa tâche. Les 44.000 volumes de livres, les 800 revues et les 5.000 manuscrits que possède actuellement la Collection Orientale, remplissent en fait le rôle de bibliothèque de référence qui peut s'appuyer sur l'ensemble des fonds de la Bibliothèque, sur la Collection de microfilms et sur les Services de xerographie et de polygraphie. C'est grâce à cette coopération fructueuse que la Collection Orientale est devenue un atelier scientifique indispensable aux recherches orientales hongroises.

Notes

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(Москва)

О ЖИЗНЕННОЙ КОНЦЕПЦИИ ДЖЕЛЯЛЬЕДДИНА РУМИ (ПО МАТЕРИАЛАМ „ЖИТИЙ” АХМЕДА ЭФЛЯКИ)

Давно уже стала хрестоматийной легенда о слепом старце Гомере, из-за которого спорили семь городов. Очевидно одно - Гомер принадлежит древней Элладе.

Но вот перед нами книги по истории средневековой персидской и турецкой литературы. И здесь мы видим одно и то же имя - Джеляльеддин Руми /Мевляна/. Иранцы называют его своим великим поэтом. Турки - родоначальником турецкой литературы. И спора нет. Вернее, спора не было. Потому что сегодня о Джеляльеддине Руми спорят, спорят иранцы и турки, арабы и афганцы. Какова же их аргументация? Арабы, например, основывают свои притязания на предании, согласно которому один из предков Руми ведет свой род от халифа Абу-Бекра. Аргументация афганцев строится на более реальном факте: Руми родился в городе Балхе, который расположен на территории афганского государства.

Конечно, принадлежность одного поэта двум или нескольким литературам - для средних веков явление довольно ординарное. Но здесь мы имеем дело с более сложной историко-литературной ситуацией. Джеляльеддин Руми родился в 1207 году в Балхе, в Мавераннахре. Как человек и поэт, он унаследовал персидскую культурную и литературную традицию, и произведения его написаны на фарси. Но большую часть своей жизни Руми провел в Малой Азии, в Руме. И прозвище Руми - Румский - навсегда связало его с историей и культурой этой страны.

Название Рум /"Рим", восточная Римская империя/ идет от арабов. Так именовались в средние века малоазиатские владения Византии и одновременно - государство Сельджукидов в Малой Азии, Иконийский султанат.

Джелальеддин Руми жил и творил в государстве сельджукидов Рума, наследниками которых и явились, как известно, турки-османы.

Попытку решить проблему национальной принадлежности Руми сделал в 1953 году пакистанский ученый, профессор Хамидуллах Хан, который заявил: "Руми не принадлежит одному народу. Он принадлежит человечеству" /18,351/. Но, конечно, этот тезис, по-своему гибкий и убедительный, не погасил жарких дискуссий.

Одним из первых в европейской науке, кто пытался, хотя бы пунктиром, набросать силуэт Джелальеддина Руми - человека, был, видимо, Иоганн Вольфганг Гете.*

Когда Гете в комментариях к своему "Западно-восточному дивану" пишет, что Руми "чувствует себя неуютно на сомнительной почве действительности", он имеет в виду не только его философские воззрения, он видит великого старца парящим где-то в мистических высях над грешной землей /11, 190/.

Суфий-аскет, "соловей созерцательной жизни" - подобное представление о Руми сохраняется почти до наших дней. Но оно идет не от современников Мевляны. Для многих его современников великий суфий, как его обычно называют, был великим эрудитом, страстным проповедником, яростным спорщиком, вольнодумцем, еретиком. Об этом говорит его житие /4, 5/, написанные им письма /17/. Но со временем представление о вольнодумстве Руми было утрачено. Вот что пишет в своем "Очерке по истории турецкой литературы" В.Д. Смирнов :
 "... памятники древнейшей османской поэтической литературы состоят из назидательных, душеспасительных размышлений в стиле ... "Месневи" Джелальеддина Руми, которое сделалось образцом для последующих богомыслящих философов " /23, 35/. Из этой скупой, но очень емкой характеристики выступает силуэт Джелальеддина Руми, смиренного, богомыслящего, каким его видели, вернее, хотели видеть на протяжении веков.

У подобных представлений оказалась большая сила инерции. Она дает себя чувствовать и в исследованиях европейских ученых не только XIX, но и нашего XX столетия. Обыкновенного теолога видел в Руми Винфельд, "величайшим мистиком" именуют его Арберри и Никольсон. Успешную попытку "вернуть" Джелальеддина Руми на землю и привлечь внимание к мощному гуманистическому звучанию его творчества предприняли советские ученые во главе с Е.С. Бертельсом и И.С. Брагинским /6; 7; 8/. Последний в своих изысканиях впервые выс-

* С творчеством Джелальеддина Руми Гете имел возможность познакомиться в 1816 году. /10/.

казал мысль о том, что мистицизм Руми скрывает за собой оппозицию ортодоксальному исламу /7; 8/. Эта идея была разработана таджикским ученым Н. Одиловым, который определил творчество Руми как эпоху в развитии вольнодумства на Ближнем и Среднем Востоке./19/.

В сознании средневекового человека мы не найдем еще такого понятия как конкретные исторические условия /оно придет позднее, вместе с элементами историзма/. Мы знаем, мусульманская география делила мир на две страны: страна правоверных и страна неверных. На "удобство" такой формулы указывал в свое время Маркс /1, 167/. Сегодня мы оперируем понятием типологического сходства государственной и общественной структуры стран Ближнего и Среднего Востока в эпоху средневековья, говорим о средневековой арабо-мусульманской культурной общности. Но это не снимает, конечно, вопроса о существовании "несходства". Убедительная иллюстрация этого - государство Сельджукидов Рума.

В XIII в. в Иконийском султанате уже определилась сословно-корпоративная общественная структура, четко обозначилась та феодальная лестница, которая составляет основу любого средневекового общества. Здесь проступили и характерные контуры восточной деспотии, которые окончательно оформятся затем в Османской империи /земля и люди - собственность султана/. И здесь в эпоху, "когда церковь выступила в качестве наиболее полного синтеза и санкции феодального строя ..." /2, 32/, господство богословия превращает догматы религии в моральные и политические аксиомы. Но есть в истории Иконийского султаната свои особые черты /22/.

Сельджукиды Рума считались оплотом ислама на границе с Византией. Они вели религиозные войны с "неверными", сражались с крестоносцами. И вместе с тем в их государстве крепло мусульманско-христианское двоеверие, стирались грани между исламом и христианством. Одновременно давала себя чувствовать стихия старых домусульманских традиций и верований, особенно вдоль пограничной полосы, где располагались туркменские княжества. И, конечно, неповторимый духовный климат Иконийского султаната очень благоприятствовал процветанию всякого рода антимусульманских учений /13/. Основные причины подобной исторической ситуации можно свести к двум - внутренней и внешней. Первая - "великое смешение" языков, народов, религий и культур /местными языками, наряду с тюркскими, считались армянский и греческий, значительная часть населения говорила и по-персидски /3/. Вторая - постоянные контакты

с Византией, "война и мир".

Известный чехословацкий ученый Ян Рипка сказал о Мевляне: "Века украсили биографию Джеляльеддина Руми фантастическими и легендарными чертами" /20, 234/. С этим нельзя не согласиться, но известно и другое. "Фантастические черты" в жизнеописаниях Руми, многочисленные рассказы о его чудесах - непереносимое требование житийного жанра. И видимо, лучшее из легендарных жизнеописаний Руми - житие, написанное Ахмедом Эфляки. Есть основание полагать, что именно эта книга и послужила основным источником для более поздних авторов, которые черпали из нее главным образом фантастические и легендарные рассказы.

Эфляки создавал свою книгу в течение сорока лет /1318 - 1358/. Она была написана в г. Конии в эпоху монгольского владычества по указанию настоятеля обители мевлеви, внука Мевляны Улу Арифа Челеби. Это сочинение в манере жития имело вполне конкретную религиозную, "пропагандистскую" функцию: привлечь внимание к монастырю мевлеви, поднять авторитет этого крупного духовного феодала /16/. Но житие - специфический жанр средневековой литературы с определенным соотношением "житийной" части и реального жизненного содержания. Именно на этом основывается его литературная функция.

В сочинении Эфляки, в многочисленных рассказах - эпизодах, которые в большинстве своем строятся как хадисы, с указанием передатчика, воссоздается и общественно-политическая атмосфера государства Сельджукидов Рума, и картины повседневной жизни столицы - Конии. И даже в мистической шелухе рассказов о чудесах содержатся жемчужные зерна жизненной правды. Это дало основание академику Гордлевскому рассматривать "Жития", написанные Эфляки, в качестве мемуаров /13, 10/. Такое определение - это прежде всего признание исторической ценности, достоверности содержащихся в них материалов по истории, философии, литературе и искусству. Но едва ли не самым значительным и важным для исследователя-литературоведа представляется возможность воссоздать облик Руми-человека, живого, мыслящего, общественного человека. Ибо сочинение Эфляки сохранило для потомков не только идеальный образ святого. Здесь проступают и черты Джеляльеддина Руми как вполне реальной личности, человека своего XIII века, века расцвета и упадка анатолийских сельджуков, века монгольского безвременья и социальных катаклизмов.

В своей статье мы поставили перед собой задачу достаточно скромную: следуя за автором "Жития" Ахмедом Эфляки, попытаться показать антифеодаль-

ную оппозицию Руми, прежде всего в связи с его, так сказать, человеческой, социальной практикой - насколько это возможно в рамках небольшого этюда.

Джелальеддин Руми - фигура очень сложная, противоречивая. Суфий Руми и человек Джелальеддин Руми нередко спорят. Как рассказывает Эфляки, Руми не остается равнодушным к тому, что мы сегодня называем социальной несправедливостью, к человеческому горю. Он проявляет участие ко всем, независимо от положения в обществе и вероисповедания. Его многочисленные письма и записки, адресованные главным образом великому визирию Перване, содержат просьбы о заступничестве за людей, страдающих или обиженных, чаще всего за бедняков /17/. Да, это не был "соловей созерцательной жизни", как называл его А. Крымский. Мевляна боролся за свой нравственный идеал, за человека, за победу добра над злом, вел ожесточенную полемику со своими противниками. В статье "Особенности гуманизма Мевляны" современный турецкий ученый Сади Ырмак говорит о борьбе Руми против религиозного фанатизма. Он пишет: "Если помнить, что в Конии ... существовало 64 медресе, и в этих медресе преподавалось классическое, узкое понимание религии, и что Мевляну страшно критиковали и даже почитали за кяфира /еретика/, то величие этой борьбы становится еще более очевидным" /15, 106/.

Руми живет в трудный, жестокий XIII век. Насилие и гнет, чинимые султаном, его наибами, эмирами, беями, междоусобица, смута, социальные потрясения и массовое уничтожение людей, связанные с монгольским нашествием, - все это укрепляло в людях мысль о близком конце мира, рождало настроения безысходности, отчаяния, трагизма. И Руми осознает свою миссию не только в том, чтобы наставить людей на путь "спасения". Он осознает себя и учителем, наставником, который должен помочь людям в их земных делах. А для этого нужно определить свою жизненную позицию, выработать новую концепцию жизни, ориентированную на реального человека. Подобную потребность ощутил и современник Мевляны на Западе - крупнейший представитель христианской философии Фома Аквинский. И у него рядом с высказываниями о "бренности" земного существования, об "истинном" бытии появляется призыв вмешаться в земную жизнь /9/. Это знамение века. А у Руми в V томе "Месневи" мы найдем такие слова: "Суфий должен уметь жить в условиях своего времени". Но к новой концепции

жизни Мевляна и Фома Аквинский приходят с разных позиций: Аквинат как представитель ортодоксального богословия, Руми – как вольнодумец.

Один из лучших знатоков творчества Руми в Турции А.Гельпынарлы говорит: "Он ступил на землю. Его ноги стоят на земле, его глаза раскрыты" /12, 35/.

Да, глаза у Руми раскрыты настолько, чтобы увидеть все несовершенство окружающего его реального мира и высказать свое недовольство им. В социуме, где царит насилие и произвол, Руми видит арену непрерывной борьбы, борьбы добра и зла. С этической оценкой – добро или зло – он соотносит и свое представление о верхах и низах общества. Для средневекового сознания это обычная работа. Для него добро и зло сопричастны всему сущему. В каждом явлении, факте, событии – во вселенной, в обществе, в человеке проявляется извечная борьба добра и зла. Но какова их природа? Поиски ответа на этот вопрос, толкование природы добра и зла проходят через идейную, религиозную борьбу всего средневековья. На этой почве сталкиваются ортодоксальное богословие и свободомыслие, вольнодумство. Уже первые мусульманские секты ставят вопрос о божественном предопределении и свободной воле человека. В христианской религии необходимость ответить на вопрос: откуда берется в мире зло, вызвала к жизни даже новую отрасль христианской философии – так называемую теодицею. С широким распространением антифеодальных движений на Востоке и на Западе проблема добра и зла все заметнее перемещается на уровень социума. Эта тенденция нашла свое отражение во взглядах и жизненной практике и Фомы Аквинского и Джеляльеддина Руми.

Суфий Руми всех людей подразделял на две группы: те, которые претендуют на превосходство и те, кто подавляет свое "Я" /4, 166/. Но эта классификация, идущая от ранних суфиев, является, так сказать, внесоциальной. А верхи и низы в Иконийском султанате были той социальной реальностью, в которой Руми жил. Верхи – это султан, феодальная знать, богатые люди. Низы – это главным образом городской люд, ремесленники, крестьяне.

Кония времен Руми была большим, богатым городом со своеобразной архитектурой. Наблюдая жизнь этой средневековой столицы, Мевляна довольно ясно представлял себе и промежуточные звенья от низов к верхам. Ведь феодальная иерархия отнюдь не сводилась к проблемам этикета, нравственно-этическим нормам феодального общества. Она проступала во всем, даже и во внешнем облике сельджукской столицы. И однажды в разговоре с сыном Бахаэддином Веле-

дом Мевляна указал ему на это: "Бахазддин, посмотри на город Конию. Сколько здесь тысяч домов, дворцов, эмиров, вельмож, знатных людей. Дома торговцев выше и просторнее домов ремесленников. Особняки эмиров - выше и богаче домов торговцев. А султанские дворцы ... в сотни раз величественнее и роскошнее всех этих жилищ" /4, 258/. Верхи и низы.

Понятия "верх" и "низ" применительно к социуму восходят к пространственным представлениям небеса - земля. И у средневекового человека "верх" ассоциируется с представлением о благородстве, чистоте, добре. "Низ" осмысливается как неблагородство, грязь, зло. Отсюда и характерное противопоставление: благородные - неблагородные, привилегированные - непривилегированные, верхи и низы общества /14/.

Обращая свои взоры к "верхам", Руми не видел в них ничего такого, что ставило бы их выше других людей. Напротив, в сановниках, вельможах и у самого султана он находил гордыню, алчность, корысть, зависть, жестокость - то, что он определял словом "хырс". Эта категория в этическом учении Руми имела собирательное значение нравственной порчи, низменных страстей /19/. А низа - это бедняки. У них не было "мирского добра". Но у них была совесть, и они были нравственно чище верхов. Низы добывали свой хлеб в поте лица. А труд, по представлению Джеляльеддина Руми - неперемное условие совершенствования человека. И поэтому его влекло к низам. Именно из низов он охотно набирал себе учеников, мюридов. И если верхи были для Руми олицетворением зла, то в низах он видел доброе начало. Подобное толкование Руми верхов и низов общества - очевидное переосмысление нормативных средневековых понятий, того, что идеологически подпирало всю сословно-корпоративную структуру общества. И это - позиция социальных низов, которую называют обычно плебейской оппозицией феодализму. Автор "Жития" Ахмед Эфляки зафиксировал эту социальную позицию великого суфия в ряде впечатляющих эпизодов. Эфляки рассказывает: "Однажды на большом меджлисе эмир Кемаледдин произнес такие слова: "Мюриды Мевляны ... все из низших слоев да из ремесленников. Если есть где-нибудь какой-то портной, бакалейщик, так он тут же их принимает в друзья". Мевляна в тот день был в экстазе, он кружился в дервишеской пляске. Но вдруг он закричал страшным голосом, так, что все лишились чувств: "Эй, ты, чья сестра блудница! Разве наш Мансур не был халладжем-чесальщиком хлопка? А шейх Абу-Бекр Бухари не был ткачем, а другой совершенный человек не был стекольщиком? И что ты такое мелешь?" /4, 162/. Конечно, городские

низы доставляли феодальной знати много забот: народные движения, мятежи начинались обычно отсюда. И мюриды Мевляны вызывали к себе не только неприязнь, но и ненависть у придворной знати, светских и духовных феодалов. Если нельзя было расправиться с самим Мевляной - его популярность была беспредельна, - то с мюридами... "Мюридов Мевляны нужно убить", - так выразил официальную точку зрения один сановник, имея в виду прежде всего мюридов-бедняков. Когда Джеляльеддину Руми передали эти слова, они не вызвали у него гнева, он рассмеялся и сказал: "А интересно, сумеют ли они это сделать?" Уж очень много бедного люда были мюридами Мевляны.

Очень важное место в концепции жизни Руми занимает труд. Мевляна был не только врагом феодального этикета, но и врагом привилегий, которые обеспечивало феодальной верхушке сословно-корпоративное общество. Он не признавал за власть имущими права на праздность, бездеятельную жизнь. И очень не любил, когда ему мешали работать. Потому что за его беседами, поучениями, назиданиями стояло целеполагание. Это было творчество поэта, деятельность, труд учителя - так осознавал он свою миссию на земле. И когда Руми работал, он отказывал в беседе, поучении всем, даже самому султану.

Шейх Нефиседдин так рассказывал: Однажды Мевляна прогуливался во дворе своего медресе. Мюриды стоя, в ожидании поучений, благоговейно созерцали лицо своего учителя. Потом он приказал закрыть ворота. Неожиданно Мевляну пришли навестить султан Иззеддин со своими везирями, эмирами и набами. Мевляна вошел в одну из келий и спрятался. Он повелел сказать: "Пусть они себя не утруждают". После этого султан и его свита повернулись и ушли. Но один из приближенных султана не ушел. Он стал с силой колотить в дверь. Один из дервишей хотел открыть, Мевляна ему не позволил. Он сам встал и спросил: "Кто стучит в дверь посвященных?". Это был эмир Алем. Он вошел, отнес поклон и предстал перед Мевляной. Тогда тот обратился к нему и спросил, знает-ли он такой-то стих из Корана. После того как эмир Алем прочел стих, Мевляна ему сказал: "Вот видишь, бог говорит: у меня нет ни отца, ни матери, ни детей, ни жены... А сейчас время работать, выполнять свои обязанности..." Когда эмир Алем ушел, мюридов поверг страх: "Что с нами будет?" - сокрушались они. Видя это, Мевляна сказал: "Нет, нет, нечего бояться. Мне захотелось, чтобы эмир Челеби не заделался совсем лентяем" /4, 280/. Ведь праздность Мевляна рассматривал как тяжкий грех. Он был убежден: каждый человек должен трудиться - и вельможи, и султан. И поэтому поучения Руми

сильным мира сего чаще всего сводились к наставлению заниматься своими делами и нуждами народа. После смерти султана Аляеддина, личности действительно выдающейся, Руми больше не находил среди сельджукских султанов своего идеала "просвещенного", "справедливого" правителя. Он судил трезво и строго. Султан, все его окружение и вообще все власть имущие и богатые заслуживали, по мнению Руми, самой жестокой кары, возмездия за зло, чинимое народу. А сельджукские султаны посещали Мевляну часто, окруженные пышной свитой, или приходили в одиночку, смиренно испрашивая советов и наставлений.

"Султан ислама Иззеддин Кайкавус пришел навестить Мевляну. Мевляна не оказал ему должного внимания", - рассказывает Эфляки. Султан ислама проявил рабское самоуничижение и попросил: "Пусть Хазрет Мевляна даст мне наставление". Мевляна ответил: "Ну, какое я могу дать тебе наставление? Тебе приказано быть пастухом, а ты ведешь себя как волк. Тебе поручили быть стражем, а ты грабишь. Всемогуший сделал тебя султаном, а ты действуешь по наущению дьявола". Как пишет Эфляки: "Султан ушел от Мевляны раскаявшимся, весь в слезах".

Это слово Мевляны к султану очень примечательно как проявление исключительной смелости этого человека. В беседе с султаном Мевляна как бы следует кораническому толкованию зла. По Корану, как известно, именно шайтан Иблис в ответе за зло в человеке, зло на земле. Но Руми, как это видно из других его высказываний, отвергает самостоятельное существование злого начала. Добро и зло существует во взаимодействии. "Покажи мне что-нибудь хорошее, в чем бы не было плохого. Покажи мне что-нибудь плохое, в чем бы не было хорошего", - говорит Руми. Такое же диалектическое понимание добра и зла он относит и к человеку. Добро и зло есть в человеке в силу двойственности его природы. Он - полуангел - полуживотное. Но человек наделен свободной волей и несет ответственность за свои поступки. Как мы видим, Руми отрицает предопределение, и в этом одно из его главных расхождений с официальным исламом. Руми признает, что мы сегодня называем категорией причинности /за которой, в конечном счете, скрывается бог/. "Мирское добро - смертельный яд ... все дерутся друг с другом во имя этих денег. Эти деньги убивают и уничтожают весь народ", - эти слова Руми произносит почти с омерзением /4, 420/. Ранние суфии обрушивались на правителей, на феодальную знать,

богатых людей в своей борьбе за "чистоту" ислама, отсюда и идет их отрицательное отношение к богатству, собственности. Так, в мистифицированной форме находили выход антифеодальные настроения в раннем средневековье. И Руми считает богатство, деньги помехой на пути "спасения" отдельного человека. Но в них он видит уже и нечто большее - причину зла на земле. Он говорит о "бедствиях", которые несет серебро".

Эфляки пишет: "Как-то раз к Мевляне с миссией от великого везира Перване явился шейх Шарафеддин с несколькими эмирами. Один из приближенных Мевляны, ходжа Меджеддин Мераги вбежал в зал, где Мевляна беседовал с друзьями, один из мюридов играл на лютне. Ходжа Меджеддин сказал: "Оставь лютню, не играй! Знатные господа оказывают Мевляне честь своим посещением". Когда визит был окончен, знатный гость приказал, чтобы ходже Меджеддину выдали 2 тысячи динаров на приобретение обуви для всей братии. Ходжа Меджеддин доложил об этом Мевляне. Мевляна сказал: "Пусть эти деньги и те мертвецы с холодными глазами, которые приходили сюда, провалятся сквозь землю. Ты так быстро влетел в дверь, что я подумал: явился пророк или Гавриил Эмин спустился. Мы заняты своими делами. Кто хочет - приходит, кто хочет - уходит. Что ты так волнуешься? /4, 260/. Может встать, однако, такой вопрос: а разве сам Мевляна не был богат? Разве обитель мевлеви не была одним из самых влиятельных духовных феодалов? Нет, Руми не был богат, он умер в долгах и история монастыря ордена мевлеви начинается, собственно, после его смерти.

Как мы видим, обычная человеческая практика Руми, его взаимоотношения с другими людьми, представителями верхов и низов общества - красноречивое свидетельство его тесных контактов с миром, свидетельство его социально-нравственных конфликтов с обществом. В свой трудный век Руми живет, как никто другой, возвышаясь над своей эпохой. И если помнить о строгой регламентации всего жизненного уклада средневековья, о его морально-этических нормах, то подобная человеческая практика Мевляны дает основания говорить о социальном протесте, об антифеодальной оппозиции румского старца. И это не просто возвращение к оппозиции ранних суфиев. Это осознанная, теоретически осмысленная оппозиция человека и мыслителя. Потому что взаимопроникновение, взаимосвязь между социальной практикой Руми и его религиозно-этической системой совершенно очевидны. Это две сферы деятельности - духовная и социальная - одной личности /что не исключает, конечно, известных расхож-

дений между ними/. Данный тезис представляется нам принципиально важным. Он снимает кажущееся противоречие между практическим мировосприятием Руми и его религиозно-этической системой.

Сельджукским сановникам и богатым людям, привыкшим к панегирикам придворных поэтов, к раболепству духовенства, такая жизненная позиция Мевляны казалась непонятной, противоестественной, подозрительной. "Нынешние шейхи и богословы со свечой ищут расположения эмиров и умирают во имя его. Так почему же Мевляна бежит от нас, словно житель рая из ада, будто птица из силка?" - удивленно вопрошал великий везирь Муинеддин Перване /4, 270/.

Разве мог великий везирь, временщик Перване, да и сам султан и все его окружение понять, что для Мевляны не существовало феодального этикета, который со всей строгостью расставлял людей на общественной лестнице согласно их рангу? Могли ли они понять, что главным для него были высокая нравственность, человеческая добродетель, то есть сама человеческая личность, независимо от ее места в обществе? Разве могли они понять, что в своем отношении к человеку этот великий вольнодумец обогнал свое время?

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É. APOR

SÁNDOR KÉGL'S BEQUEST AND THE PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ORIENTAL COLLECTION

"He was an Orientalist in the strictest sense of the word, if by the term Orientalist we understand a scholar who has chosen as his field of research the intellectual traditions of Oriental man in order to study and to publicize — through academic studies firmly grounded in philological investigation — the influence which the Oriental world has had on the intellectual development of mankind in general." [1]

Sándor Kégl died in the last days of the year 1920. He had been a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and a titular public Professor Extraordinary at Budapest University. As a young man he had been appointed to the post of honorary lecturer in Persian Language and Literature at Budapest University and in 1906, at the age of 44, he became a corresponding member of the Academy on the recommendation of Ármin Vámbéry, himself an honorary member, and Ignác Kúnos, also a corresponding member. He completed his studies under the direction of such scholars as Ignác Goldziher and Ármin Vámbéry, with both of whom a cordial pupil-teacher relationship developed into a close personal friendship.

We read of their close relationship in a letter from Vámbéry dated 1890, addressee unknown. [2]

"My Dear Friend,

I am sending you a paper which I can warmly recommend both to you and to the Academy. As its title indicates, its subject is modern Persian literature and it is written by a former student of mine, Dr. Sándor Kégl. Dr. Kégl comes of a well-known and well-to-do family. For four years he studied Oriental languages under my supervision and at the completion of his studies here I arranged for him to be sent to Persia. Dr. Kégl spent some time in the Persian capital where he richly supplemented his theoretical knowledge with practical experience. On his return home he began writing the present study, of which, now that it is completed, I can unreservedly say that it is worthy of publication. I honestly believe that no other European academic could have produced a work quite like Dr. Kégl's, no, not even Dr. Ethé despite his unique reputation, because he has been working from sources which nobody before him had investigated.

In short, Dr. Kégl's work would do credit to any academy and I personally strongly advocate its publication." [3]

Sándor Kégl's letters to Ignác Goldziher — and altogether 18 are preserved in Goldziher's private papers and letters now in the Oriental Collection — reveal his deep affection for his teachers. In the first letter, dated 1891, he thanked Goldziher warmly for his review of Kégl's first work — the study referred to above — and asks him if he may present it to the Academy. Before 1914 Kégl addressed Goldziher in his letters as "Dear Professor"; after that date the form of greeting was changed to "My Dear Friend".

He had a profound knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Turkish philology, thanks in no small measure to his excellent teachers. He received his doctorate for a study on 'Ḥayāt al-ḥaywān' by the 14th century Arabic writer DAMĪRĪ. [4]

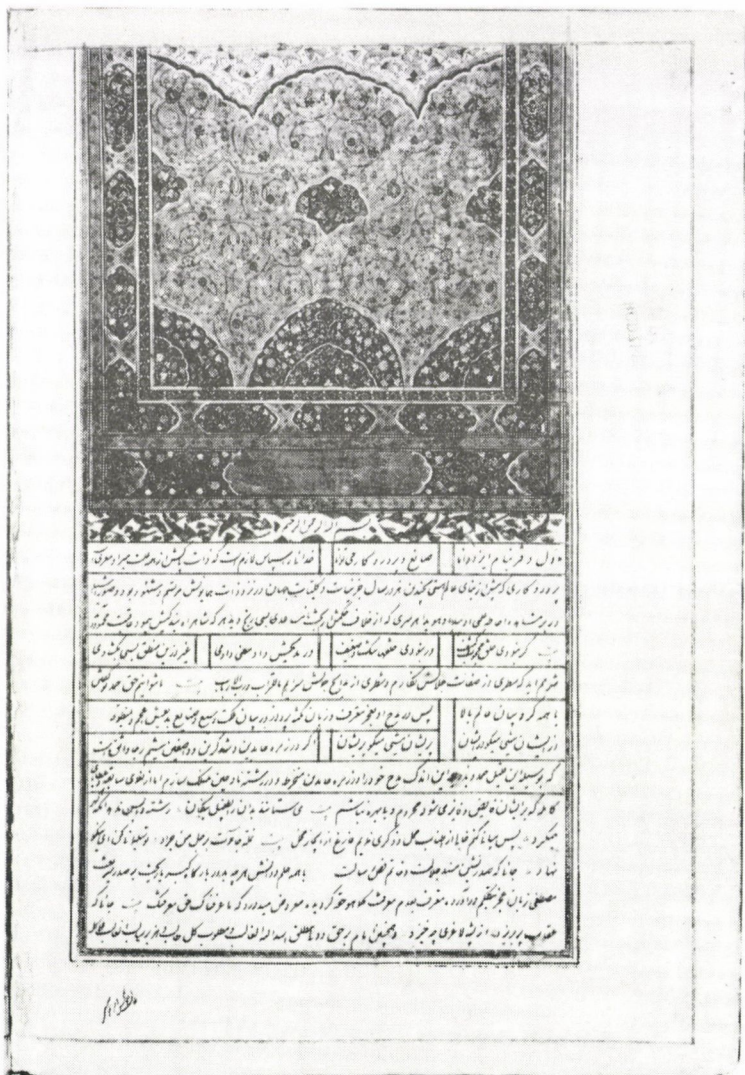
The field-work he did in Persia, which was mentioned in Vámbéry's letter, probably turned Kégl into a Persian rather than an Arabic scholar. He assembled a unique fund of knowledge and material on modern Persian literature. The literary significance of his research lies not purely and simply in the material itself, but rather in the indisputable fact that the period under review, a period which saw the first stages of the reforms carried out by the early Qājār rulers and in particular by Nāṣer ed-dīn šāh, is crucially important for an understanding and appreciation of modern 20th century Persian literature. This was the "period of enlightenment" in Persian society and literature and Kégl studied it closely and wrote about it enthusiastically. His Essays on Modern Persian Literature [5] (1892), which Ármin Vámbéry had recommended so warmly and his papers in the ZDMG [6], WZKM [7] and the JRAS [8] not only gained him international recognition in his own lifetime but even today give the reader a faithful picture of 19th century Persian literature.

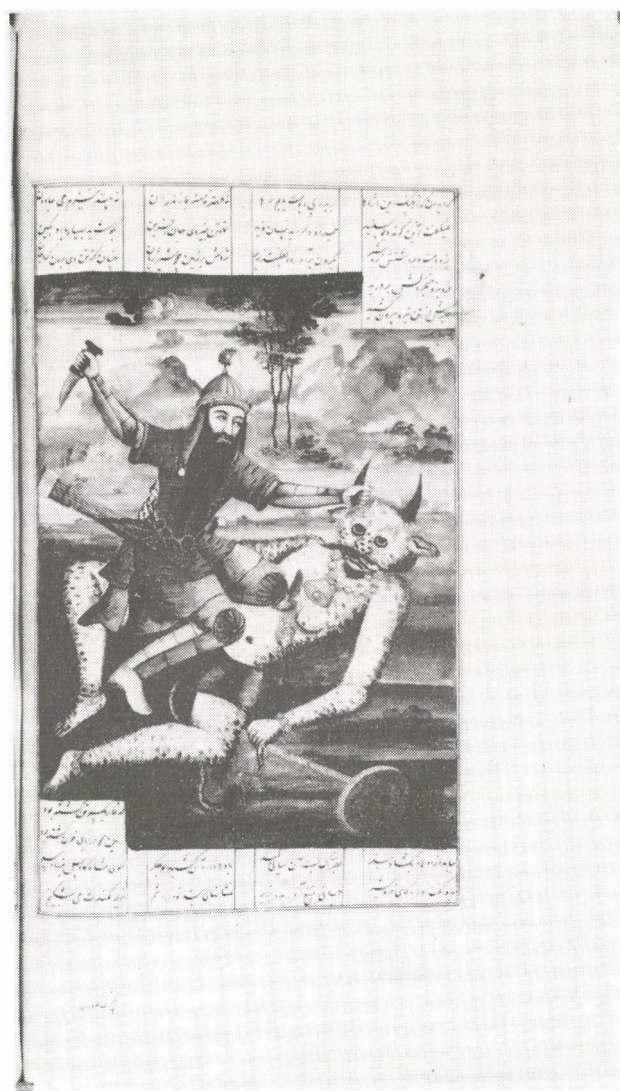
The significance of his work on Persian folksongs [9] lies in the wealth of material it contains. It is interesting to note that the Persian folksongs were presented in Kégl's work in Hungarian phonetic transcription.

But Kégl was greatly interested in modern Hindustani and Hindi; he made a particular study of the 'Bhagavadgita', one of the episodes of the 'Mahabharata'. He was also very widely read in religious history, comparative linguistics and Turkish, Arabic, Germanic and Rumanian philology. [10] But, of course, his most important research was done in the field of Persian literature. He worked in Pusztaszentkirály in the family house where in the course of time he built up an enormous library of 11,000 volumes which after his death was presented to the Academy Library in 1925. The Secretary-General of the Academy at the time, Jenő Balogh, thanked Kégl's brother for the gift in the following words: [11]

"The Presidency of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences expresses deep gratitude to your Excellency for your most generous decision to present the library of your late brother and our most respected colleague, Dr. Sándor Kégl, to the Academy in accordance with the wishes of the deceased."

The Chief Librarian of the Academy Library made special mention of the Kégl library in his report for the years 1925 and 1926: [12]





"Coming now to speak of individual gifts and bequests, I would like to refer in particular to gifts presented by Sir Aurél Stein and the late János Kégl. ... The late János Kégl presented the library of his late brother, Sándor Kégl, University Professor and Corresponding Member of the Academy to the Library, in accordance with his brother's expressed desire. Among the works in a collection amassed with great care and at great expense over many decades are 75 Oriental, principally Persian, manuscripts. Although Sándor Kégl's main and most comprehensive interest lay in works on Persian and the Semitic world, he also collected original literature and background literary material in Urdu and Sanskrit. Persian belles-lettres and Arabic and Persian historical literature are very well represented in the collection. The presentation also greatly increases the value and number of dictionaries in the Library."

We can certainly endorse the Chief Librarian's report for Kégl's library with its 11,000 volumes as one of the largest and richest presentations the Academy Library has ever received. It can be mentioned in the same breath as the 30,000 volume Teleki library which formed the basis of the Academy Library or the Ráth library with its collection of pre-1711 books in Hungarian and on Hungarian subjects, Sir Aurél Stein's library of books on Central Asia and Dávid Kaufmann's collection of Hebraica and Judaica.

Soon after the Library received the Kégl collection, the work of classifying and cataloguing began. Printed books were added to current stock, "Kégl-library" being noted in the cards of catalogue, manuscripts were added to Oriental manuscripts. Unfortunately an inventory of books and manuscripts in the collection was found to be missing at the time. It has not yet come to light.

Sándor Kégl was connected in a number of ways with the Academy Library. It was he, according to library reports in Academy Bulletins, who completed the cataloguing of the Oriental manuscripts. Indeed the reports chart the progress of his work over many years. He also described all 62 Persian manuscripts (O. 1-42, Q. 1-7, F. 1-13) then in the possession of the Academy Library in a summary catalogue, thus making them considerably more accessible to research scholars.

From these 62 manuscripts seven were presented to the Library by Bertalan ÓNODY in 1876 and forty were purchased around 1886 as part of the SZILÁGYI collection. [13] In 1914 with Ármin VÁMBÉRY's bequest 11 Persian manuscripts came into the possession of the Academy Library (O. 43-50, 52-53, and F. 14). The KÉGL collection contained 59 Persian manuscripts (O. 54-91, Q. 23-27, F. 15), thus almost doubling the Persian manuscripts in the possession of the Library to 133. A further three manuscripts were bequeathed to the Library by Sir Aurél STEIN (O. 93, 96, F. 18) and one was presented by Vladimir MINORSKY (O. 92). In the fifties a number of manuscripts were purchased by the Academy Library.

Now the Oriental Collection has 144 Persian manuscripts in its possession. They are arranged according to traditional classification and numbered in sequence according to octave, quarto and folio size in the same way as Turkish and Arabic manuscripts.

Only the 11 manuscripts in the Vámbéry bequest have been described in a printed catalogue. [14] We have long intended to produce an academically researched

catalogue of all of the material in the manuscript collection, but unfortunately this has yet to be realized.[15] A short hand-written catalogue of the other manuscripts have been prepared on the model of Kégl's card-catalogue and although it does contain a number of mistakes, at least for the time being it does serve its purpose.

If we classify the Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Collection according to subject-matter, we see that the largest single genre — roughly half of the manuscripts — are works of poetry. We have 3 copies of 'Šāhnāme' (F. 3, 12, 17), one 'divān' of NĀṢER-E XOSROU (O. 23), 4 of ḤĀFEẒ (O. 2, 52, 68, 102), 2 copies of ANVARI (O. 63, 86), one of the 'divān' of ŠĀ'EB (O. 21), the 'Xamse' of AMIR XOSROU DEHLAVI (O. 79) and the 'Hašt behešt' by itself in 3 copies, 2 copies of NEŽĀMI's 'Xosrou va Širin' (O. 58, 73), and 2 of SA^CDI's 'Kolliyāt' (Q. 21, F. 6), and a number of separate copies of the 'Bustān' and 'Golestān'. In the field of belles-lettres we possess a manuscript of the 'Kalila va Dimna' (O. 57) and 3 copies of the 'Tuṭināme' (O. 32, 60, 64). To mention one lesser known work, the Collection also possesses 3 copies of the 17th century 'Bahār-e dāneš' (O. 78, 92, Q. 23), a major work in 'sabk-e hendi' where "knowledge" (dāneš) is interpreted first and foremost as the art of love. The finest copy (Q. 23), dated 1730, is from the Kégl collection.

The 'tazkere', a genre peculiar to Persian literature being a blend of literary history and anthology is represented in the Collection by several very fine manuscripts. The earliest, dating from 1567-68 is the 'Toḥfe-ye Sāmi' (O. 8), written by SĀM MIRZĀ, the son of the first Safavid ruler, Esma^Cil šāh. Dating from the same period, we also possess CAṬṬĀR's 'Tazkirat al-auliya' (O. 17), and DOULATŠĀH's classical work, the 'Tazkirat aš-šu'arā' (O. 50) (1571), bequeathed to the Academy by Vámbéry. The 'Meyxāne', a 'tazkere' manuscript from North India dated 1717 (O. 1). Examples of Qājār 'tazkeres' include the 'Anjoman-e xāqān' (F. 9) (1838), the 'Ātaškade' (O. 43), (from the beginning of the 19th century) and the particularly valuable 'Safinat al-Maḥmud' (F. 14:1) (1829), written by a Qājār prince, MAḤMUD MIRZĀ, fifteenth son of Faṭḥ^CAli šāh and bequeathed to the Library by Vámbéry. The 'Majma^C-ye Maḥmud' which contains the 'tazkere' is now recognized as the most complete collection of MAḤMUD MIRZĀ's writings. Vámbéry received the manuscript, in his own words, from "a fellow-countryman, general Károly Wagner, a professional soldier serving with the Persian army". But how did an artillery-officer from Nagyszeben (now Sibiu, Rumania) find himself in the Persian army? The reason apparently is as follows: on his second visit to Europe in 1878 Nāṣer ed-din šāh was received by Emperor Franz-Joseph in Vienna. He was so impressed by the martial splendour of the Austro-Hungarian soldiers who formed his reception troop that the Emperor agreed to his request to dispatch a number of officers to Persia to reorganize and modernize the army. One of these officers was Wagner. He seems to have had excellent connections with the court, otherwise it is very hard to see how he could have come into the possession of the finest manuscript written at the command of Faṭḥ^CAli šāh.

25 manuscripts have a historical theme. Of these two deserve special mention, both bequeathed by Vámbéry and both on the subject of Central Asian history. One is entitled 'Tārix-e vafāt-e amir-e Teymur' (O. 46) and dates, author unknown, from the beginning of the 19th century. It contains numerous legends and stories about Timur xān. It will certainly be of interest to Turkologists because it contains a large number of Turkish (Usbek) word-forms. The second work was written by a 'monši' at the court of the Balx ruler, Moqim xān, and thus is entitled 'Tārix-e Moqim xāni' (O. 44) (1864-65). It presents a history of the xāns of Boxārā, the Sheibanids and Ashtarkhanids, describes briefly Jingis xān's military campaign in Central Asia and discusses the Mongolian-Ashtarkhanid relations. Soviet historians have long recognized the work as important source material and a complete Russian translation appeared twenty years ago. [16]

The Oriental Collection also has a number of manuscripts on lexicography and grammar, including a Chagatay-Persian dictionary based on the works of NEVĀ'Ī, the 'Badā'i^c al-luġat' (O. 45) (1715-16) from Vámbéry's bequest and two kinds of 'Qavā^ced-e fārsi' (O. 56:1-2) (1799) from the Kégl collection on the subject of grammar. Astrology, medicine, philosophy, Shiah theology and religious practices, etc. are also represented by several manuscripts.

The oldest Persian manuscript in the Oriental Collection, a copy of the 'Kalila va Dimna' (O. 57), dates 1319. It is our only authentic fourteenth century manuscript and also comes from the Kégl collection.

Notes

1. László GAÁL, Kégl Sándor, Budapest 192?.
2. Kézirattár [Department of Manuscripts] 209(1890) pót [supplementary list].
3. 'Tanulmányok az újabbkori persa irodalom történetéből' [Essays on modern Persian literature]: Értekezések a nyelv- és széptud. köréből XV:XI, Budapest 1892.
4. Kamāl al-dīn Damirī, Hajāt al-hajwān, Az állatok élete [The life of animals], Budapest 1889.
5. cf. Note No. 3.
6. 'Zur Geschichte der persischen Litteratur des 19. Jahrhunderts': ZDMG 47(1893) pp. 130-142. 'Muḥammed Hibelrūdī's Ġāmi ul-tamīl. Die erste neupersische Schpruchwörtersammlung': ZDMG 48(1894) pp. 692-698.
7. 'Šeibānī, ein moderner persischer Dichter des Pessimismus': WZKM 6(1892) pp. 157-165. 'Šajek, der Satyriker des Vagabundenlebens in Irān': WZKM 7(1893) pp. 338-344. 'Rizā Kulī Xān als Dichter': WZKM 11(1897) pp. 63-74. 'Višāl und seine Söhne, eine Dichterbildung des modernen Persiens': WZKM 12(1898) pp. 113-127.
8. 'A poem from the Divān of Shams i Tabrīz': JRAS 1900, pp. 140-142.
9. 'A perzsa népdal' [The Persian folksong]: Értekezések a nyelv- és széptud. köréből XVII:III, Budapest 1899.
10. Various papers in Hungarian as 'Anszári a herāti öreg' [Ānšari, the old man of Herat]. Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny 24(1900) pp. 103-105. 'Szenāji és a perzsa vallásos költészet' [Sanā'i and the Persian religious poetry]: Értekezések a nyelv- és széptud. kö-

- réből XVIII:IX, Budapest 1904. 'Dselāl ed-din Rūmī négysoros versei' [The quatrains of Jelāl ed-din Rumi]: Értékezesek a nyelv- és széptud. köréből XIX:X, Budapest 1907 [Academy inaugural diss.]. 'Szelim szultán mint perzsa költő' [Sultan Selim as a Persian poet]: Keleti tanulmányok. Goldziher Ignác születésének hatvanadik évfordulójára [Oriental Studies. Papers presented to I. Goldziher on his 60th birthday], Budapest 1910, pp. 183-203. 'Bhagavadgītā': Értékezesek a nyelv- és széptud. köréből XXI:V, Budapest 1910. 'Emir Khosrev' [Amir Xosrou]: Értékezesek a nyelv- és széptud. köréből XXI:X, Budapest 1911.
11. Kézirattár [Department of Manuscripts] RAL 1151/1925.
 12. Akad. Ért. 1927, p. 30.
 13. About B. ÓNODY see 'Pallas lexikon' XIII, Budapest 1896. About Dániel SZILÁGYI and his collection of Turkish manuscripts see A. HORVÁTH's paper in this volume.
 14. E. APOR, The Persian manuscripts of the Vámbéry-bequest, [A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtárának Kiadványai — Publicationes Bibliothecae Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 62.] Budapest 1971.
 15. In the meantime I was informed that É. JEREMIÁS had compiled a catalogue of Persian manuscripts around 1970 and that, unfortunately, it has not been published as yet "because of its insufficiencies" — though it is quite unbelievable for me. I hope it will be published as soon as possible, correcting the mistakes if necessary, because this kind of work contributes to the progress of Persian studies indeed.
 16. MUHAMMED YUSUF, Mukim-hanskaja istorija. Per. ... A. A. Semenova. Taškent 1956.

L. BESE

ON THE MONGOLIAN AND MANCHU COLLECTIONS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

I.

A preliminary on the Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs in the Oriental Collection

The written records of the Mongolian language have, in the course of time, been scattered throughout the world. Apart from territories where Mongol is spoken, Mongolian collections can be found from the Soviet Union through Europe and America to Japan, in many places in the Northern hemisphere. These collections serve as basis source material for scholars and can perhaps be regarded as one of the main factors in the cultivation of international flourishing Mongolian research. The fact that these sources are scattered is, at the same time, a definite barrier to research as the materials to be found in different countries and different collections have never been and are still not easily available to those who need them. Some progress has been made in the field of cataloguing collections and publishing catalogues. But the situation remains unsatisfactory. Curiously it is the largest Mongolian collections (of Ulan-Bator, Leningrad, Ulan-Ude, Köke Qota) that we know the least of, which means that the most valuable sources of data are withheld from scholars. All in all, large numbers of written records of the Mongolian language are still lying about in uncatalogued anonymity, like dead capital, on the store-shelves of libraries.

The Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences have also remained hidden from the outside world. Individual pieces have become known through Prof. Lajos LIGETI's book (*Rapport préliminaire d'un voyage d'exploration fait en Mongolie Chinoise 1928-1931*, Budapest 1933); other MSS and xylographs have been publicized through the studies of Hungarian Mongolists, but they only represent a fraction of the whole stock and they do not give sufficient information about the collection as a whole. Accordingly, taking the opportunity provided by this session I should like to make a few comments on the Mongolian MSS and xylographs of the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

1. The development of the Mongolian collection divides, chronologically, into three phases.

The first period is represented by one single work (Mong. 1. A glossary of the Mongolian language copied by a European hand with French interpretations. The

Mongolian words are written in Arabic characters. The composer's name is not recorded. Undated.) How and when this copied MS came to be acquired is not yet known.

But the second phase saw a great expansion of the collection. In this period the collection of Mongolian MSS and xylographs was established, thanks to the efforts of Prof. Lajos Ligeti, who contributed 122 MSS and xylographs to the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The value of this part of the collection is enhanced by the many old and unique MSS it contains.

Since about 1956 the Oriental Collection of the Library has acquired again Mongolian MSS and xylographs and this can be said to be the third period of the accumulation of the Mongolian collection. This part of the collection consists of donations and occasional purchases from private persons. Although there has not been a consistent policy behind the acquisition of items, it would be unjust to say that the 164 new items represent a quantitative growth only. By lucky accident the Library has acquired many valuable MSS and xylographs.

2. The present stock of the Mongolian collection consists of 285 items. This is, naturally, less than that of the Ulan-Bator or Leningrad collections (about which we have no exact data anyway), or even the Copenhagen collection (with its 560 items). (I shall not mention here the 12 German collections which contain 672 items.) But the collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences is larger than that of the Toyo Bunko (Tokyo) with 230, the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) with 165, the East Asiatic Library (Berkeley, Calif.) with 133 (my catalogue of this collection is to appear in *Acta Orient. Hung.* 31(1977)) or the British Museum (London) with 105 items, etc. (For the relevant data see Walther HEISSIG, *Catalogue of Mongol Books, Manuscripts and Xylographs* [The Royal Library, Copenhagen], Copenhagen 1971, pp. XIX-XX.) In terms of quantity the Mongolian collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences can be described as a medium-sized collection.

Mongolian collections cannot be compared however, simply in terms of size. An evaluation can be made from several points of view, such as the number and proportion of MSS in each collection. Out of the 285 Mongolian MSS and xylographs in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences 178 are MSS (of which 25 are Oirat MSS). The proportion of MSS to printed works is, when compared to other medium-sized Mongolian collections containing almost no MSS, fairly good. For the scholar this is of immense value even if many of the Mongolian MSS are fragmentary or difficult to interpret or identify.

3. In the following we list the items in the Mongolian collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences grouped according to literary genres and formal characteristics. For the sake of simplicity groups and sub-groups are presented alphabetically. The catalogue number and volume of each item is also indicated.

3.1 Works on Buddhism

3.11 Manuscripts

Altan kegürge kemekü sudur. 6 ff. (Mong. 236)

Altan quyaγ-tan orusiba. 6 ff. (Mong. 71)

Arban tabun adas-un kereg-ün sudur. 6 ff. (Mong. 59)

Badma sambhava baγsi-yin jokiyaγsan qamuγ bujir-i arilγaγči bsang. 14 ff. (Mong. 53)

Blam-a-yi takiqu-yin kötölbür-ün üsüg sidis-un qur-a-yi oruγuluγči. Ti.-Mo., 53 ff. (Mong. 205)

Blam-a-yin takil kötölbüri sita-yin qura oruγuluγči. Ti.-Mo., 69 ff., ff. 28, 30 are missing. (Mong. 280)

Boγda bančın erdeni dalai blam-a-yin gegen boγda činggis qaγan-narun jarliγ-un bičig. 13 pp. (Mong. 201)

Boγdasun nom čaγan lingu-a kemegdekü yeke kölgen sudur. The copy consists of chapters I-XXIX, fragmentary. (Mong. 122)

Degedü adisdid-i örüsüyegči jalbaril-γ-a orusibai. 5 ff. (Mong. 203)

Eldeb eke-yin göbdürügü ebečın-i arilγaγči sakiqi-yin arγ-a bütügel. Ti.-Mo., 3 ff. (Mong. 204)

Erdini noyan qutuγ-tu-yin surγal. 5 ff. (Mong. 193)

Γangta tab-un gürü-eče abida-yingegegen-e surγali. Ch. format, 62 ff. (Mong. 268)

Γurban törölkiten-ü mör-ün jerge-yin kötelbüri rasiyan qayilumal altan kemeg-dekü. 27 ff. (Mong. 55)

Jobalang bükün-i arilγaγči dar-a eke-dür jalbariqi yosun masi quriyangγui. 3 ff. (Mong. 115)

Joo adiša enedkeg-tür kerkijü sasin delgeregsen ba altan tib-tür oduγsan tuγuǰi. 47 ff. (Mong. 34)

Maγui jigüden-i qariγulqu sudur. 6 ff. (Mong. 65)

Manjusiri-yin kürdü buyu bükün-ni čidaγci gem-üd-i arilγaγči-yin sudur ed-ün sang erdeni-yin qubi gesigü kemeküi. 18 ff. (Mong. 194)

Modun-u šastir neretü sayin nomlal qoyar yosun-u nayiγuγsan jaγun möčir-tü. Ti.-Mo., 30 ff. (Mong. 214)

Öber-e busud-i tegsi arilačiqi-yi busalγaqu yosu. Ti.-Mo., 17 ff. (Mong. 229)

Qutuγ-tu ayusi ner-e-tü yeke kölgen sudur. 15 ff. (Mong. 49)

Qutuγ-tu bilig-ün činadu kiγaγar-a kürügßen quriyangγui silüg. 59 ff. (Mong. 220)

Qutuγ-tu bilig-ün činadu kiγaγar-a kürügßen včir-iyar oγ taluγči neretü yeke kölgen sudur. 48 ff. (Mong. 69)

Qutuγ-tu bilig-ün činadu kiγaγar-a kürügßen vačir-iyar oγ taluγči neretü yeke kölgen sudur. 86 ff. (Mong. 197)

Qutuγ-tu bilig-ün činadu kiγaγar-a kürügßen vačir-iyar oγ taluγči neretü yeke kölgen sudur. 64 ff. (Mong. 200)

Qutuγ-tu degedü altan gerel-tü sudur-un erketü ayımaγ-un qaγan neretü yeke kölgen sudur. 180 ff. (Mong. 77)

- Qutuγ-tu naiman gegegen neretü tarni. 27 ff. (Mong. 58)
 Qutuγ-tu öl̄jei qutuγ. 18 ff. (Mong. 72)
 Qutuγ-tu tabun ayimaγ-tu nom erdini. 156 ff. (Mong. 78)
 Qutuγ-tu v̄cir-iyar oγtuluγči. 37 ff. (Mong. 218)
 Qutuγ-tu yeke quriyangγui-tu bodisatv modgal-un köbegün eke-dür-iyen açi
 qariγuluγsan neretü sudur. 70 ff., fragmentary. (Mong. 76)
 Qutuγ-tu yekede tonilγaγči. 165 ff. (Mong. 211)
 Qutuγtu yekede tonilγaγči jüg-üd-tür delgeregsen γasiγudan gemsiküi-ber
 kilinča-yi ariluyad burqan bolγan bütügeküi teyin büged jokiyaγsan
 neretü yeke kölgen sudur. 57 ff. (Mong. 138)
 Qutuγ-tu yeke-de tonilγaγči qumuγ jüg-tür delgeregsen:gem-üd-iyen γasiγudan
 kilinča-nuγud-i arilaγu tegsi jokiyaγu burqan bolγan bütügeküi neretü yeke
 kölgen sudur. 76 ff. (Mong. 79)
 Sayin üge-tü erdeni-yin sang neretü šastir. 126 ff., Ti.-Mo. (Mong. 54)
 Sasin-i badarayuluγči. Ti.-Mo., 5 ff. (Mong. 63)
 Sukevati-yin irügel. 9 ff. (Mong. 73)
 Umar-a jüg-ün šambhala-yin orun-u jokiyaγ ba šambhala-yin qaγad-un nomlal.
 25 ff. (Mong. 227)
 Urtu egülen neretü qaγan-u domuγ-ača čiqula kereg-dü jarim nige-yi tegügsen.
 Ti.-Mo., 27 ff. (Mong. 198)
 Üliger-ün dalai. 386 ff. (Mong. 126)
 V̄cir oγtalurči-yin činadu kiγar-a kürügsen-ü bōdi qutuγ-un mör toγulaqui
 sudur. 58 ff. (Mong. 68)
 Yekede sonusuγsan tonilγaγči neretü kemekü sudur. 102 ff. (Mong. 142)
 Yovagačaris-un neretü degedü getülgegči milaraspa-yin rnam-tar. 175 ff. (Mong.
 212)

3.12 Peking xylographs

- Arban jirγuyan yeke batuda aγči-yin takil arilγuγšan-u sasin-u baraγdal ügei
 mani kemegdekü. HEISSIG, Blockdrucke 128. (Mong. 121 and 128)
 Arban jüg-ün geser qaγan-u tuγuγi. Blockdrucke 35. (Mong. 83)
 Arban naiman keregtü kemekü surγal. Blockdrucke 157. (Mong. 93)
 Badma γatang sudur-un orusiba. Badm-a sambau-a baγsi-yin delgerenggyü-e
 jokiyaγsan törül-ün čadig. Blockdrucke 25. (Mong. 128)
 Bančaraγša kemekü tabun sakiyan neretü. Blockdrucke 97. (Mong. 3)
 Boduba-yin ubadis üliger-ün nom erdini čoγčalaγsan kemekü. Blockdrucke 56.
 (Mong. 125)
 Boduv-a-tan-u ayimaγun ülem̄ji nom udq-a-yi geyigülün üiledügči jula üliger-ün
 nom erdeni čoγčalaγsan lagš-a tayilburi. Blockdrucke 121, 122. (Mong.
 231)
 Bodhi mör-ün jerge-dür angqan-a oyun sudulqu nom-un egüden-i negegči ke-
 megdekü. Blockdrucke 82. (Mong. 10)
 Egesig üsüg kiged geyigülügči üsüg-üd. Blockdrucke 101. (Mong. 6)

- Eldeb keregtü qaş qaγurčaγ neretü bičig. Blockdrucke 218. (Mong. 15)
- Eldeb em-ün karčaγ. Blockdrucke 102. (Mong. 94)
- Eldeb üliger-ün dalai kemegdekü sudur. Blockdrucke 71. (Mong. 13)
- Guven luuye-yin öčig takil. Blockdrucke 159. (Mong. 144)
- Ĵirüken-ü tolta sudur. Blockdrucke 60. (Mong. 11)
- Mani gambu. Blockdrucke 24. (Mong. 135, 129)
- Ner-e udq-a-yi todudγaγči saran-u gegen genel kemegdekü dokiyan-u bičig. Blockdrucke 210. (Mong. 5)
- Nere-yin dalai-yin darulγ-a yeke dag yig üges-ün ĵüil-i toduraγulun üiledügči yeke naran kemekü. Blockdrucke 45-48 (?). (Mong. 84)
- Qarsi ĵasaqu naiman gegegen neretü sudur. Blockdrucke 205. (Mong. 70)
- Qutuγtu degedü altan geretü erketü sudur neretü yeke kölgen sudur. Blockdrucke 57. (Mong. 80, 123)
- Qutuγtu molun toyin eke-dür-iyen ači qariγuluyči kemekü sudur. Blockdrucke 15. (Mong. 82)
- Qutuγtu naiman mingγan-tu yeke kölgen sudur. Blockdrucke 174. (Mong. 137)
- Qutuγtu ölĵei qutuγ öoyčalaγsan neretü yeke kölgen sudur. Blockdrucke 201. (Mong. 283)
- Qutuγtu včir-iyar oγtaluyči bilig-ün činadu kiĵaγar-a kürügsen neretü yeke kölgen sudur. Blockdrucke 17, 18. (Mong. 139)
- Qutuγtu včir-iyar oγtaluyči sudur. 40 ff. (Mong. 217)
- Qutuγtu yekede tonilγaγči ĵüg-üd-tür delgeregsen γasiγudan gemsiküi-ber kilinčas-i arilγaγad burqan bolγan bütügeküy-e teyin büged ĵokiyaγsan neretü yeke kölgen sudur. Blockdrucke 14. (Mong. 12)
- Sayin üge-tü erdeni-yin sang subhasita kemegdekü šastir. Blockdrucke 138. (Mong. 8)
- Töbed kelen-ü sine qaγučin ayalγus-un ilγal-i üĵügülügči sayin ügetü liši-yin ordu qarsi kemegdekü. Blockdrucke 100. (Mong. 9)
- Uda-yin tabun aγulan-u orusil süsüg-ten-ü čikin čimeg. Blockdrucke 7. (Mong. 4, 223, 254)
- Üčüken üsüg nomuradqalγ-a-yin ĵirüken-ü qarangγui-yi arilγan üiledügči mingγan naran-u genel kemekü. Blockdrucke 47. (Mong. 7)
- Üliger-ün dalai-yin sudur. Blockdrucke 27. (Mong. 127)
- Yamandaga maqagala erlig qaγan ökin tngri dörben sudur. Blockdrucke 76-77. (Mong. 81).
- Yogacaris-un erketü degedü getülgegči milaraspa-yin rnam-tar nirvan kiged qamuγ-i ayiladduγči-yin mör-i üĵegülügksen kemegdekü. Blockdrucke 131. (Mong. 124, 141)

3.13 Buriat xylographs

- Abural burqan baγsi-yin gegen-ü arban qoyar ĵokiyalun maγtaγal orusiba. 4 ff. (Mong. 237)
- Ačitu blam-a-yin gegen-ü qoyitu-yin geriyes üge orusiba. 10 ff. (Mong. 248)
- Aγa-yin dasang-du sine barlaγdaγsan nom-ud-un neres anu. 2 ff. (Mong. 233)

- Arban ʔurban burqan-tu yamandaga-yin abišig-un ündüsün blam-a-nar-un ʔalbaril kemegdekü orusiba. 3 ff. (Mong. 234)
- Ba ʔsi šakyamuni-yin maɣtaɣal adisdid-i dötü oruɣuluɣ či orusibai. 1-5 ff. in-complete. (Mong. 235)
- Bodi mör-ün ʔerge amur mör-ün üges utqas-un ʔirüken čikin-ü ündüsülel ubadis-un čiqula sim-e kemegdekü orusiba. 38 ff. (Mong. 245)
- Bodisatu-a-nar-un čindamani erike kemegdekü orusiba. 4 ff. (Mong. 238)
- Buyan-u ʔüil-dür duradqan üiledügsen temdeg bičig orusibai. 20 ff. (Mong. 247)
- Gan ʔuur-yin dangbanirša ʔ-tur ʔaruɣsan 31 ʔüil birid-ün nomlal-i tusaburi-ača tobčılan quriya ʔu öber öber-ün segül-dür ariy-a-balu-a-dur ʔalbaril talbi ʔu m-vu ʔokiya ʔsan orusibai. 36 ff. (Mong. 241)
- ʔurban sanvar-tan-u yerü-yin namančilal orusiba. 2 ff. (Mong. 250)
- Itegel abida burqan-u ariluɣsan orun sukevati-dur törükü irügel orusiba. 8 ff. (Mong. 246)
- Itegel-ün kötlübüri siddi bükün-i ʔarɣaɣči kemegdekü orusiba. 13 ff. (Mong. 249)
- ʔirɣuɣan üsüg mi-i-yin tusa erdem-ün udq-a tayilburi orusibai. 2 ff. (Mong. 239)
- Mongɣol üsüg-ün yosun-i sayitur nomlaɣsan kelen-ü čimeg. 10 ff. (Mong. 228)
- Nere udq-a-yin todudqayči saran-u gegen gerel. 102 ff., incomplete. (Mong. 140)
- Qubitan-i nom-dur duradqaqu daɣudal orusibai. 7 ff. (Mong. 240)
- Sükevati-yin orun-u jokiyal-i ögüleksen arɣun orun-u erdem-i todurqay-a üjegülkü bilig-ün toli kemegdekü orusiba. 30 ff. (Mong. 252)
- Temür morin ʔil-ača ekilen keb-tür seyilgeksen mongɣol nom-ud-un qoyaduɣar ʔarčir. 2 ff. (Mong. 232)
- Yerü qara kerten-ü angqarun abqu surɣal-nuɣud orusibai. 2 ff. (Mong. 251)
- Yirtinčü-yin nom-un yosun-i todurqayılan üiledügči kemegdekü orusiba. 49 ff. (Mong. 244)
- Yirtinčü-yin sayin maɣu yabudal-un ilɣal-i üjegülügči sayin nomlal-un douradus-un yabudal-un gem-i üjegülügksen qoyaduɣar ʔüil orusiba. 10 ff. (Mong. 243)
- Yirtinčü-yin sayin maɣu yabudal-un ilɣal-i üjegülügči sayin nomlal-ača qoyaduɣar degedüs-nurud-un yosun-i daɣan tedkekü-yin ʔüil orusiba. 20 ff. (Mong. 242)

3.2 Astrology, divination

- Aliba maɣu iru-a-yin üjelge. MS, 12 ff. (Mong. 150)
- Bolbasun altan öngge-tü udbal-a barɣsan eldeb kölgen-iyer amitan-u tusa-yi üiledügči: qoɣusun ügüleğčid-ün manglai. MS, 3 ff. (Mong. 147)
- Čaɣan ʔiruqai-yin olun-u dotur-a-ača quriyaɣsan: ür-e-yin toɣ-a sudur orusiba. MS, 62 ff. (Mong. 148)

- Doluğan graγ. qorin naiman odun. qorin doluğan lakš-a-dar. yisün mengge. ede
bügüde ber jil sara edür čaγ müče-yin sayin maγu-yi ilγaju üjiku lakš-
-a-dar-un sudur-nurud sayitur orusiba. MS, 48 ff. (Mong. 32)
- Döčin doluğan čilaγutu. MS, 17 ff. (Mong. 149)
- Ene čadig inu čilaγun-u qabqaytu kemekü niyuča-ača neng ülemji niyuča sudur
kemekü büi. MS, 27 ff. (Mong. 29)
- Jarliγ-iyar toγtaγaysan tümen orun-u čaγ ularil-un toγan-u bičig. Xyl., Ch.
format, 114 ff. (Mong. 256)
- Nayan bölüg-tü qural-un jiruqai. MS, 20 ff. (Mong. 146)
- Üjelge-yin toγan-u činari masi nekegsen-eče: γai toγulaqui yosun itegel
manjusiri-yin tayalal-un toli kemekü orusiba. MS, 35 ff. (Mong. 145)

3.3 Publications of the "Mongγol bičig-ün qoriy-a"

- Boγda Činggis qayan-u čadig. (Mong. 18)
- Činggis boγda-yin durasqal-un tegübüri. (Mong. 17)
- Liyoo ulus-un eki adaγ-un kereg yabudal-i temdeglegsen šastir. 4 fascicles.
(Mong. 92)
- Mongγol kelen-ü qarılčın kelelčikü üges. (Mong. 89)
- Mongγol udq-a-yin jüil qubiyaγsan toli bičig. (Mong. 14)
- Mongγol udq-a-yin surγaqu bičig. (Mong. 97)
- Šidintü kegür-ün čadig. (Mong. 90)
- Šambala-yin irüger sudur orusiba. (Mong. 25)
- Yuvan ulus-un teüke. (Mong. 22)

3.4 Education, didactics, language

- Alban-u bičig sidkeküi-tür kereglekü toγtaγaysan üge. Ch.-Mo. MS, 53 ff.
(Mong. 41)
- Dörben jüil-ün üsüg qabsuruγsan toli bičig. Ma.-Mo.-Ti.-Ch. xyl. (Mong. 20)
- Emu justan-i bithe. Jaici debtelin. Ch.-Ma.-Mo. Ms, 30 ff. (Mong. 51)
- Gegegen sayid-un üge-yin nayiruluγsan bičig. Ch.-Ma.-Mo. MS, 60 ff. (Mong.
48)
- Γurban jüilün üge qadamal. Ma.-Mo. Ms, (Mong. 270)
- Γurban jüil-ün üsüg qabsuruγsan toli bičig. Ma.-Mo.-Ch. lithoprint. Hailar.
(Mong. 47)
- Γurban jüil-ün üsüg qadamal bičigsen ügen-ü bičig. San ho yü lu. Ma.-Mo.-
Ch. xyl. (Mong. 24)
- Hua yi yi yü. Xyl. Sanghai 1918. (Mong. 19)
- Kümün-ü jüil. Ma.-Mo.-Ch. MS (Mong. 40)
- Manju mongγol üsüg-iyer qabsurun tayiluγsan san cü ging-ün bičig. Ma.-Mo.-
Ch. xyl. (Mong. 23)

- Məng wen tzu tien. Mo.-Ch. xyl. (Mong. 26)
 Monggô bithe-be oyonggô jorin-i bithe. Ma.-Ch. MS, fragmentary. (Mong. 38)
 Mongγol kitad üsüg-iyer qabsuruγsan toli-yin bičig. Ma.-Mo.-Ch. MS, 13 ff. (Mong. 42)
 Mongγol üsüg-ün čayan toluγai orusibai. MS, 1-7 ff., fragmentary. (Mong. 266)
 Mong wen che yao. Ch. MS. (Mong. 39)
 Li ši gur khan. Ti.-Mo. MS (Mong. 116)
 Sin ch'u tui siang mong ku tsa tzu. Mo.-Ch. xyl. (Mong. 284)
 Sin-e orčiγuluγsan mongγol irgen mingγan üsüg büi. Ch.-Mo. lithoprint. (Mong. 21)
 Sinez moxgöl biteg. Neke debter. Tokyo 1931. In Dagur. (Mong. 85)
 Töbed-ün dokiyan-u üsüg-yi onuquy-a kilbar kemekü orusiba. MS, 33 ff. (Mong. 199)
 Töbed-ün kelen-i kilbar-iyar surqu neretü bičig orusiba. Mo.-Ti. xyl., 190 ff. (Mong. 95)
 Yi yü. The 22nd chapter of the T'eng tan pi kiu. Ma.-Mo.-Ch. MS. (Mong. 44)

3.5 History, law, edifying poetry

- Boγda Činggis qaγan-u čadig orusiba. MS, 1-16 ff. incomplete.
 Jarliγ-iyar toγtaγaγsan γadaγadu mongγol-un törü-yi jasaqu yabudal-un yamun-u qauli jüil-ün bičig. (Fasc. 43, MS, 29 ff., fragmentary. (Mong. 272)
 Mongγol-un obuγ ündüsün anu. MS, 9 ff. (Mong. 177)
 Naiman qosiyun-u čigerlel-ün bičig. Ma.-Mo.-Ch. MS, 10 ff. (Mong. 45)
 Sin-e nayiraγuluγsan yerü-yin medel. MS. (Mong. 260)
 Činggis qaγan-u altan tobči kemegdekü surγal ene büi. MS, 13 ff. (Mong. 255)
 Tngri-eče jayaγatu boγda Činggis qaγan-u törül orusiba. MS, 20 ff. (Mong. 226)
 Yüan ch'ao mi shi. Xyl. (Mong. 16)

3.6 Literary works (translated from Chinese and Tibetan)

- (Colophon:) Arban jüg-ün arban qour-a-yin ündüsü tasulaγsan ayuqu metü boγdoi (sic!) geser qaγani nigen ekitü čadig tögüsbei. MS, VIII: 1-12, IX: 12-31, X: 31-60 ff., incomplete. (Mong. 143)
 Boγda bigirmiγid qaγan-u teüke orusiba. MS, 282 ff. (Mong. 133)
 Čin čing qüi kemekü teüke. Qorin γurbaduγar bölüg. MS, 1-24 ff. (Mong. 259)
 Geser qaγan-u tuγuγi. MS, 138 ff. fragmentary. (Mong. 100)

- Köbegün ögligeçi ösiyengter qan köbegün-ü nigen bölüg namtar orusibai. MS, 30 ff. (Mong. 258)
- Qasan qaγan-u teüke. 22-32nd bölüg-üd. MS. fragmentary. (Mong. 276)
- Sung ulus-un teüke. MS, 25 ff. Ch. format. (Mong. 257)
- Šen čan quyí kemekü teüke. MS, 26 fasc. (Mong. 134)
- Ši mergen noyan-u sidkigsen kereg-ün eki toγtaγal kemekü teüke. MS, 118 ff. (Mong. 277)
- [Toti-yin üliger] MS, 17 ff., incomplete. (Mong. 265)
- Yang čin xüi kemegdekü teüke. Fasc. 1, MS, 42 ff., incomplete. (Mong. 273)

3.7 Popular religious beliefs

- Ačitu geser boγda qaγan-u sang-un orusibai. MS, 6 ff. (Mong. 264)
- Arban жүг-ün ežen geser qaγan-u jarliγ orusibai. MS, 4 ff. (Mong. 178)
- Blam-a-yi takiqui-yin jaγg üile. Ti.-Mo. MS, 48 ff. (Mong. 192)
- Boγda činggis-yin bsang takilγ-a kereg üiles-yi türgen bütegegči dalai orusibai. MS, 6 ff., fragmentary. (Mong. 173)
- Buγar tüidker-nurud arilγaγči sang-un sudur. MS, 6 ff. (Mong. 155)
- Čaγan ebügen-ni takilγ-a orusibai. MS, 8 ff. (Mong. 160)
- Čalm-a tasulqu orusiba. MS, 3 ff. (Mong. 67)
- Čaqar gusi blam-a-tan-u jokiyaγsan γangjuγ-a-u sudur orusiba. MS. (Mong. 152)
- Čorji blam-a Aγvadorji ber jokiyaγsan tngri delekei γaγar orun-u sang takilγ-a orusibai. MS, 12 ff. (Mong. 174)
- Ergükü anu. MS, 5 ff. (Mong. 179)
- Gegüni sačuli orusibai. MS, 5 ff. (Mong. 161)
- Geser boγda-yin takilγ-a. MS, 4 ff. (Mong. 156)
- Geü-ü sačuli-yin sudur orusibai. MS, 7 ff. (Mong. 213)
- Γal takiqui sudur orusiba. MS, 2 ff. (Mong. 31)
- Γal-un irügel ger-ün sakiγulsun-dur takil sačuli-yi ergükü γal-un ubsang kemekü sudur orusiba. MS, 4 ff. (Mong. 57)
- Γal-un irügel-ün neretü sudur. MS, 4 ff. (Mong. 165)
- Γal-un takilγ-a. MS, 12 ff. (Mong. 168)
- Γal-un takilγan-u sudur orusibai. MS, 22 ff. (Mong. 163)
- Γal-un takilγan-a sudur γal tngri-yin sang dallγ-a orusiba. MS, 9 ff. (Mong. 169)
- Γal-un tngri-yin yabuγulqu sang takilγ-a orusiba. MS, 8 ff. (Mong. 166)
- Γal-yin sang. MS, 12 ff. (Mong. 164)
- Γangjuγ-a-u sudur. MS, 5 ff. (Mong. 153)
- Kötel-ün obuγan-i takiqui sudur büi. MS, 4 ff. (Mong. 56)
- Mongγol sang orusibai. MS, 17 ff. (Mong. 196)
- Namdaγ sang orusibai. MS, 24 ff. (Mong. 74)

Excipit: Quturtu qara qala eme-yi amurli'ulur'çi sudur tegüsbei. MS, 8 ff.
(Mong. 185)

Temegen-ü 'al-un takil'-a orusiba. MS, 2 ff. (Mong. 215)

Tngri-dü takil ergükü sa'ul orusibai. MS, 7 ff. (Mong. 171)

Ur'umal 'alaqu orusiba. Xyl., 2 ff. (Mong. 253)

Üge bögelekü sudur. MS, 3 ff. (Mong. 66)

Ülem'ide-yin irügel orusiba. MS, 10 ff. (Mong. 175)

Ünigen-ü sang-un sudur orusibai. MS 8 ff., fragmentary. (Mong. 162)

3.8 Oiratica. (Works on various subjects)

Altan serêçi. MS, 2 ff. (Mong. 181)

Benriyin kürütü inu orošiboi. MS, 5 ff. (Mong. 157)

Boqtu sanggîn sudur orošiboi. MS, 9 ff. (Mong. 182)

Erketü mönggkü tenggeriyn sang orošiboi. MS, 2 ff. fragmentary. (Mong. 172)

Geser. Chapter 11. MS. (Mong. 131)

'al teggeri takixu sudur orošiboi. MS, 5 ff. (Mong. 167)

Xara ama kele emeürli'ilün üyiledüqçi kemêkü sudur orošiboi. MS, 9 ff.
(Mong. 154)

Xara aman kele xariul'aqçi toqtöl. MS, 4 ff. (Mong. 132)

Xutuqtu arslan terigütü rakini orošiboi. MS, 4 ff. (Mong. 180)

Xutuqtu biligiyn činadu kürüqsen tasuluqçi uçir kemêkü yeke kölgeni sudur.
MS, 26 ff. (Mong. 216)

Xutuq-tu önömnöküyn nom-yör tola sayidoqson kemêkü yeke kölgönö sudur.
Lithograph. (Mong. 219)

Keb zeîn xurang'ui tobçi. MS, 9 ff. (Mong. 190)

Na'azanaîn iröl šitü üye kemêkü orošiboi. MS, 13 ff. (Mong. 159)

Ong'oyin 'anza'an sang büü. Dalal'ai büi. MS, 4 ff. (Mong. 151)

Siditü kegür-ün üliger. MS, f. 39. (The end of the tale No. 24.) (Mong. 222)

Siddhi-tü köür. MS, ff. 1-5, 11-12, 16-17, 39. Incomplete. (Mong. 130)

Sökevadîn iröl orošiboi. MS, 11 ff. (Mong. 158)

Sünesün ezekü biçiq. MS, 2 ff. (Mong. 195)

Tenggeri-in sang. MS, 4 ff. (Mong. 170)

Vibazana dambai daran naman boqdani narni kekê nomlaqson zarliq orošiboi.
MS, 4 ff. (Mong. 184)

Yertüncüyn toli orošiboi. MS, 22 ff., fragmentary. (Mong. 221)

No title. Ti.-Oirat MS, 46 ff. (Mong. 281)

No title. Ma.-Ch.-Mo.-Oirat MS, a vocabulary. (Mong. 91)

[illegible]

Ma. 15. Enduringge tacihiyan-i juwan ninggun hacin-i
jurgan-be yarume ejehe bithe. MS. Fol. 3r.

This brief handlist does not include untitled items, which number over fifty. Around half of the untitled works and the various fragments are on Buddhist subjects or are not at present easy to identify. I hope that the planned descriptive catalogue will be completed in the near future, thus making the Mongolian collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences available in its entirety, as a whole, for Mongolian studies.

II.

On the Manchu books and manuscripts in the Oriental Collection

The 25th anniversary of the Oriental Collection presents us with an excellent opportunity to discuss the rich and valuable collection of oriental manuscripts in the possession of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Somewhat overshadowed by the main body of Hebrew, Turkish, Mongolian, Arabic and Persian manuscripts in a quantitatively smaller collection, that of Manchu manuscripts and rare books. It would seem to me worthwhile and necessary to take the opportunity of the anniversary to mention a few words about this collection, particularly as its existence is not generally known to Manchu scholars.

The list of titles which we publish below is intended to provide preliminary information on the provenance of many well-known works and also to publicize the existence of a number of hitherto unknown items. As such it will be of use to Manchu philologist.

The Oriental Collection at present possesses 36 Manchu items. There are a further 22 works in the Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs section which by right ought to belong in the Manchu collection. Thus there are altogether 58 Manchu items in the Oriental Collection. We present the items according to the classification of Prof. Walter FUCHS, *Chinesische und mandjurische Handschriften und seltene Drucke*, Wiesbaden 1966. (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 12, 1.). Items or fragments which have not yet been identified have been grouped under the heading of miscellaneous works.

As it is our wish to describe and classify the items as simply as possible, in general, we publish only the Manchu titles of multilingual works, and references reduced to the minimum compatible with clarity. To facilitate the usage of the catalogue we refer to the item-number of two other catalogues. They are as follows: Nicholas POPPE — Leon HURVITZ — Hidehiro OKADA,

Catalogue of the Manchu-Mongol section of the Toyo Bunko, Tokyo-Seattle 1964 and Hartmut WALRAVENS, 'Vorläufige Titelliste der Mandjurica in Bibliotheken der USA': Zentralasiatische Studien 10 (1976) pp. 551-613. (I deeply regret that I have not yet been able to inform my good friend and colleague Dr. H. Walravens that while I was working on the Mongolian material in the East Asiatic Library (in Berkeley, California), I came across a Manchu 'Vajracchedikā' which is missing in his catalogue.) All informations are followed by the catalogue number in brackets marked with Ma. or Mo. according to whether it belongs to the Manchu or Mongolian collection.

1. Classics, philosophy

Enduringge tacihyan-i juwan ninggun hacin-i jurgan-be yarume ejehe bithe.

MS, 1 fasc., 55 ff. without numbering. FUCHS 16-20, 22-24. (Ma.15)

Dai hiyo-i jurgan-be badarambuha bithe. Xyl., incomplete, only the fascicles

1-7, 9-10. Toyo Bunko 253. (Ma. 25)

Dasan-i nomun. Ma.-Ch. xyl., Toyo Bunko 234-235, FUCHS 5, WALRAVENS

3. (Ma. 6)

Hafan-i dasan-i oyonggo-be isabuha bithe. Ma.-Ch. MS, 1 fasc., 33 ff.,

without numbering. Toyo Bunko 418-419, WALRAVENS 74. (Ma. 17)

Han-i araha ubaliyambuha duin bithe. Ma.-Ch. xyl., 6 fascicles in 1 case.

Toyo Bunko 248-50, FUCHS 52, 165, WALRAVENS 20. (Ma. 5, 24)

2. History

Dorjiyungrung nirui tacikûi juse batørsang-ni tacire. dorolon anahûnjan uyuci

debtelin. Ma.-Mo. MS, 8 ff., without numbering. Incomplete. (Mo. 60)

Jakûn gûsai targabun-i bithe. Ma.-Mo.-Ch. MS, 1 fasc., 10 ff. without

numbering. Incomplete. (Mo. 45)

Hesei tokto buha sirame banjibuha tulergi monggo hûise aiman-i wang gung sai

ulabun. Ma. xyl., fasc. 12, 32 ff., incomplete. Toyo Bunko 397,

FUCHS 51. (Ma. 23)

Hesei tokto buha tulergi monggo hoise aiman-i wang gung sai iletun ulabun.

Ma. xyl., fasc. 1, 37 ff., incomplete. Toyo Bunko 396, FUCHS 51,

WALRAVENS 127. (Ma. 22)

Daicing gurun-i fukjin doro neihe bodogon-i bithe. Ma. xyl., fascicles 20, 25-31, incomplete. Toyo Bunko 338. (Ma. 20)

3. Law, government

Daicing gurun-i fafun-i bithe kooli. Ma. xyl., fascicles 37-39, 42, incomplete.

Toyo Bunko 430, FUCHS 54, WALRAVENS 134. (Ma. 21)

Ilan hacin gisun-i kamcibuha gebungge saisa isabuha bithe. Ma.-Mo.-Ch. xyl., 2 fascicles in 1 case. Toyo Bunko 199-200, FUCHS 60, WALRAVENS 152. (Ma. 13)

Man mong han san ho ming hsien chi. Ch.-Ma.-Mo. MS, 60 ff. Toyo Bunko 199-200, WALRAVENS 152. (Ma. 48)

4. Religion

Juwan jakûn acangga sere tacihiyan. Printed in Ti.-Ma.-Mo., 25 ff. Toyo Bunko 157, WALRAVENS 174. (Mo. 93)

Guwan looye-i juktan-be bolgomire nomun toktoho. Ti.-Mo.-Ma. xyl, 6 ff., pothi format, Peking xyl. No. 159 (HEISSIG). (Mo. 144)

Hesei toktobuha manjusai wecere metere kooli bithe. Ma. xyl., 6 fascicles in 1 case. Toyo Bunko 432-434, FUCHS 67, WALRAVENS 169. (Ma. 26)

Julgei šu fiyelen. Ma.-Ch. xyl., incomplete, only fascicles 7, 9-11. Toyo Bunko 517-518, WALRAVENS 194. (Ma. 2.)

5. Literature

Ferguwecuhe sargan jui. (On 1r-15r) and Sunjangga salgabun. (On 15r-28r). Ma. MS, 1 fasc., 28 ff., without numbering. (Ma. 18)

Manju nikan liyoo jai j'i-i bithe. Ma.-Ch. xyl., 4 cases, 6 fascicles in each. Toyo Bunko 525, WALRAVENS 204. (Ma. 29)

Gin ping mei bithe. Ma.-Ch. xyl., incomplete, only fasc. 31. WALRAVENS 207. (Ma. 30)

6. Conversations

- Manju monggo hergen-i kamcihe suhe san ze ging-ni bithe. Ma.-Mo.-Ch. xyl., 4 fascicles in 1 case. Toyo Bunko 198, WALRAVENS 251. (Mo. 23)
- Tacire bithe. Ma.-Mo.-Ch. MS, 1 fasc., 33 ff., without numbering. Incomplete, fragmentary. Incipit: bi ere mudan sui tuwaha. adarame. bigarame yabure-de akdahangge kutule sain oci. musei beye bahafi jirgambi.
- Cing wen ki meng bithe. Ma.-Ch. xyl., 4 fascicles in 1 case. Toyo Bunko 323, WALRAVENS 209. (Ma. 9)
- No title. Ma.-Mo.-Ch. MS, 1 fascicle, 13 ff., without numbering. Incipit: age si jakan aibici jihe. abayai či möntiken qanasa irebe.

7. Dictionaries

- Emu-be tacifi ilan-be hafukiyara manju gisun-i buleku bithe. Ma.-Ch. xyl., 4 fascicles in 1 case. Toyo Bunko 314, FUCHS 122, WALRAVENS 325. (Ma. 4)
- Emu justan-i bithe. Ch.-Ma.-Mo. MS, incomplete, fasc. 2, 30 ff., without numbering. (Mo. 51)
- Duin hacin-i hergen kamciha buleku bithe. Ma.-Mo.-Ti.-Ch. xyl., 10 fascicles in 2 cases. Toyo Bunko 179, 182, FUCHS 130, WALRAVENS 321. (Mo. 20)
- Duin hacin-i hergen kamciha buleku bithe. Incomplete. Identical with the previous entry. (Ma. 31)
- Fan i lei pien. Ch.-Ma. xyl., 4 fascicles in 1 case. Toyo Bunko 310, FUCHS 117, WALRAVENS 307, (Ma. 8)
- Furban jüil'in üge qadamal. Ma.-Mo. MS., 1 fasc. (Mo. 270)
- Ilan hacin-i gisun kamcibuha tuwara-de ja obuha bithe serengge. Ma.-Mo.-Ch. xyl., 2 cases, 6 fascicles in each. Toyo Bunko 184, FUSCH 109, WALRAVENS 273. (Ma. 28)
- Ilan hacin-i hergen kamcibuha gisun-i bithe. Ma.-Mo.-Ch. xyl., 4 fascicles in 1 case. Toyo Bunko 159. (Mo. 24)
- Ilan hacin-i hergen kamciha buleku bithe. Ma.-Mo.-Ch. lithograph (Hailar). Similar to Toyo Bunko 199, 200, WALRAVENS 296. (Mo. 47)

- Han-i araha manju gisun-i buleku bithe. Ma.-Mo. xyl., incomplete, fasc. 5, 88 ff. Ff. 8, 36-39 are missing. Not identical with the following entry. (Ma. 33)
- Han-i araha manju monggo gisun-i buleku bithe. Ma.-Mo. xyl., incomplete, only fasc. 1. (Ma. 31)
- Han-i araha nonggime toktobuha manju gisun-i buleku bithe. Ma.-Ch. xyl., incomplete, fascicles 1-33. Toyo Bunko 274, WALRAVENS 290, 291. (Ma. 11)
- Han-i araha nonggime toktobuha manju gisun-i buleku bithe. Ma.-Ch. xyl., 8 cases, containing 8, 4, 7, 6, 6, 6, 6 and 6 fascicles respectively. Toyo Bunko 273, 274, FUCHS 52, 165, WALRAVENS 290, 291. For further details see the previous entry. (Ma. 27)
- Kiimün-i j'itil. Ch.-Ma.-Mo. MS, 1 fasc., 10 ff. without numbering. (Mo. 40)
- Man han shih-lei pei-kai mu-tz'u. Ch.-Ma. xyl., one fasc. only. (Ma. 7)
- Manju gisun-be niyeceme isabuha bithe. Ma.-Ch. xyl., 8 fascicles in 1 case. Toyo Bunko 297-98, FUCHS 113, WALRAVENS 276. (Ma. 1)
- Manju gisun-i sonjofi sarkiyaha bithe: duin hacin. Ma.-Ch. xyl., 4 fascicles in 1 case. Toyo Bunko 311-313, FUCHS 118, WALRAVENS 308. (Ma. 3)
- Manju isabuha bithe. Ma.-Ch. xyl., 12 fascicles in 1 case. Toyo Bunko 294, WALRAVENS 279. (Ma. 10)
- Monggo bithe-be oyonggo jorin-i bithe. emu debtelin. Ma.-Mo.-Ch. MS, 1 fasc., 30 ff., without numbering. Ff. 4r-7r: monggo bithei toktoho hergen. WALRAVENS 324 (?), Toyo Bunko 164 (?). (Mo. 38)
- Mongyol kitad üsüg-iyer qabsuruγsan toli-yin bičig. Ma.-Mo.-Ch. MS, 1 fasc., 13 ff. Niyalmai hacin. (Mo. 42)
- No title. Ch.-Ma.-Mo. MS, 37 ff., fragmentary. A dictionary arranged by subject matter. (Mo. 50)
- No title. Ch.-Mo.-Ma. MS, 7 ff. Incipit: niyalmai ciktan-i hacin. da sekiyen mafa. (Mo. 43)
- No title. Ma.-Ch.-Mo.-Oirat vocabulary arranged by subject matter. Two fascicles: 71 and 59 ff. respectively. (Mo. 91)
- No title. Ch.-Ma.-Mo.-Oirat-Tu. vocabulary. MS, 2 fascicles in one case, 85 and 80 ff. respectively. (Ma. 35)

8. Miscellaneous works

- Adulara ulha-ci bargiyara giowan payoo. 1 page, a printed blank. (From Mongolia.) (Ma. 34)
- Ice donjin-i boolabun. A newspaper from Hailar. Nos 190, 194-202, 205. (Ma. 19)

- No title. MS in Manchu. Ch. format, one fascicle, 28 ff., without numbering.
Contents: 2r-4r: jakûn gûsai targabun, 6r-10v: daicing gurun-i hûwang-dei-i tukiyehe colo. aniyai gebu soorin-de the aniya ..., 11r-20v: Molon lama-i juktahan-de arahaga, 21r: badarangga doro-i jai aniya.
- No title. Ma.-Ch. MS, 1 fasc., 26 ff., without numbering. Incipit: ere gemu sinde-i baita. cisui baita-de durbuleci ojarahû. cisui baita oci. kemuni ainame oci ogoro. sinde-i baita-de oci. majige gûnin-de teburakû.
(Ma. 16)
- No title. An incomplete Ma.-Ch. MS, 1 fasc., 17 ff., without numbering.
(Ma. 12)
- No title. Ma.-Mo. MS 3 ff., 14 vertical lines on every page. Incipit: jalin. muke bilteci dalime kabumi. hiya-de hanggabuci. gingguleme jalbarime baimbi. sebseheri dengdeci geterembume jafabumbi: (Mo. 114)
- No title. Ma.-Dagur MS, 45 ff., without numbering. (Mo. 87)
- No title. Ma.-Dagur MS, 24 ff., without numbering. (Mo. 86)
- Abkai hesei ulhibure fungnehen. An imperial edict. MS, silk damask, 336x33 cm. Excipit: aisilaku hafan-i jergi boigon-i jurgan-i ejeku hafan. badarangga doro-i duici aniya sunja biyai orin. nadan jergi nonggiha giya-i ama eme. (Ma. 36)

This list of items is, of course, only of an informative nature and cannot be regarded as a substitute for the detailed descriptive catalogue which will be prepared in the future.

I. ECSEDY

HISTORICAL TIME AND MYTHICAL HISTORY IN ANCIENT CHINA

Contrary to general belief, the long and continuous history of Chinese writing and literacy has not provided the reader with an uninterrupted flow of contemporary historical records from China, the least so with regard to the perception and description of time as a unidirectional and unbroken line, a continuous concatenation of events. It is precisely for this reason that the most diverse views of the duration of the period of mythical ancient times came to be formulated. It also explains the existence of different but parallel chronologies of this period in historical accounts of the state unity of the imperial age in the Han-era (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.), and in several later versions and "amendments". This is partly because there was no reliable historical starting point of time or a continuous chronology of practical purpose in China or in its neighbourhood. Europe read and misunderstood the well-intentioned historian's apologia for past Chinese civilisation in which he attempted to show mythical tradition as history through a created framework of time in a period of European expansion and conquest in time and space, a period which also marked the beginning of Oriental studies and colonization; and Chinese history was misunderstood because traditional Chinese dates were measured by a European concept of time. Since then, one of the characteristic myths of China's lovers with a bad conscience and a wealth of misinformation is the splendour of a mythical Chinese "golden age" projected back to an irreally old or non-existent past. At the same time, it is not easy to appreciate from the lengthy records which have yet to be investigated properly that the first written notes do not herald the beginning of continuous records, that these records do not give any information about the most important historical events, that the recorder was not bound by a continuous line of proportioned time, and that researcher should also break away from European time concepts, especially in respect of the beginnings of history.

The first records can be dated to the 16th century B.C., but a more or less continuous line of records can be seen in the sources from the 9th century B.C., and written records relating to the whole territory and history of historical China were regularly collected only during the imperial era (from 221 B.C.) and after. The historical records collected for the greater glory of a dynasty, invariably began

with the change of dynasties and usually stopped at the state border — both before the era of the emperors and later when China was often split into small states; their duration is limited in space and time, and they reveal thus the primary and primarily determinative connections of writing and state, written records and state formation in China.

The first written records, short inscriptions preserved on the so-called oracle-bones and on metal objects, recorded the state rituals of the Shang-Yin state (16th—11th century B.C.) as well as other activities of importance to the state, e.g. donations, exactly marking the month, day and, occasionally and fortunately, the hour of the day with respect to the importance of the event and to the cultic time-regulations of hunting or agricultural rituals. Still, the intention was to record the event itself and not its date; thus it is sometimes possible to discover the date of an event just from an accessory incident, for example, a recorded astronomical phenomenon or other extraordinary moment breaking through the stereotypical forms. As it is, reality is not generally described or presented by means of identifying or identifiable details; even if details are given, they are hard to interpret and to understand because of their chance character. Actual, objective time is not the subject of Chinese records; even in the case of minute detailing it is usually impossible to put a year to a date as there is no outside point of comparison, point of time, or chronological practice known and acknowledged as real; and there was no apparent breach or jump in the long, gradual and unidirectional historical development of the immediately known world either. Both the main weakness of Chinese history-writing, i.e. vagueness or the absence of points of time, and its greatest strength, its poetically compact accounts especially of events receding in space and time — naturally in inverse ratio to their distance from the time of writing — can be explained by the geographically relatively isolated position of ancient China and of the first Chinese states and by the fact that Chinese history takes shape with an unbroken continuity.

In the writing of history in China historical time had become timeless, due to the absence of any means of comparison; it was bound, regulated and arranged in a continuous succession of events when direct, unavoidable and continuous contact with the outside world forced on the Chinese the awareness of foreign, "deviant" time. This happened about two thousand years after the appearance of the first records, at the end of the T'ang-empire (618--907 A.D.); and it took the form of history arranged in the order of chronicles, beginning and ending with points of time, in the Sung-era (960--1279). However, both before and after, the most important moments of history, the monographical picture of the most significant historical events were described as uninterrupted sequences, indeed often as simultaneous happenings. This was frequently done deliberately, especially after a natural caesura, e.g. a change of dynasty. [2]

This is how one of the most peculiar features of Chinese historical sources actually came into being: the actual dating of a record apparently grounded in time or at least formally dated or simultaneous with the event described, is usually incidental or arbitrary even in the case of a huge mass of records set in chronological order; also in the description of important

historical moments and processes what is of fundamental importance is not points of time but retrospective unity, the whole of the course of time given a compressed unity. Thus it is not an accident that Chinese historiography as well as Chinese historical surveys of any time begin with the mythical tradition, that is with the wise and blissful lives of divine ancestors and rulers of magic number and power who came to conquer an unknown world compiled of parts of magic number and of magic phenomena. Stories describing the beginning of history in a poetical but condensed form were quoted for thousands of years as real examples and parables; indeed they were often endowed with the apparent authenticity of historical reality as well. Their validity and the ancient character of the tradition relating to them was openly questioned only when the first archeological finds to be dated with absolute certainty were discovered in the 1920's — by Swedish archeologists — near the capital of Shang-Yin state, present day Anyang (Honan province).

Since then, investigations have, in different ways and to different degrees, rehabilitated the ancient traditions that have been — in the light of the above discoveries — gravely discredited or rather misunderstood. Only the early dates going so back as the 4th and 3rd millennia, have proved unacceptable, but the early records, the accounts of ancient heroic deeds as mythical examples and parables have not lost their credit. Besides the textual analysis of sources the internal connections of mythical tradition also help the scholar to understand the most ancient level of the written records of Chinese history and its tradition.

We have to reconsider at least the inherent reference of some widely-known half-truths considered commonplaces as concerns myths and history, myths and literature in China. For on the one hand, although written tradition, traditional history and even the historian's concept of past and contemporary world begin with myths, a sizeable systematized or systematizable mythology has not taken shape in China, and on the other hand, while Chinese literature is interwoven with magic elements, phantasy plays a strikingly unimportant part in mythical tradition.

Besides the real antagonisms of historical reality, this paradox can be attributed, in the case of China, to a misleading starting point. Inevitably we have the viewpoint of a present-day reader who can examine mythical tradition without reference to its historical background, social medium and communal function, distinguishing them for objective but modern reasons, naturally never unpunished. If, however, we concentrate on the primary significance of writing, recording, marking and preserving the beginning of history — on its civilising and civilisation-preserving significance —, we have to conclude that writing and written tradition born in the court, on the imperial peaks of culture, and promoted ex officio serves, first of all, to maintain representative values of importance to the state, supporting the perpetuance of society, with all the consequences that this implies; written records determine not only the kaleidoscopic elements of tradition passed down to distant future generations but also the direct survival of their parts or of the whole as the selective communal memory of a society selecting and choosing on the basis of literacy.

Naturally, the most ancient tradition, memories of the history-forming and history-commencing struggle with nature and those of the foundation of the

state are preserved in the holy books containing the central philosophy which served for maintaining the state: Confucianism. The classical books contain and thus canonize historical stories, which include direct or indirect references providing support and justification to later causes, and mention heroes of more and more shining names; they expound their current and actualized morality as the evident and final truth, and they connect the didactically simplified memory of the past with one or other respectable person or rather with their name in order to perpetuate their memory. This mythical inheritance collected in concise parables and similes — if only because of the authority and wide-spread social influence of Confucianism — supplants all other traditional literary elements of consciousness. Local tradition, tales and magic are first banished as worthless and superfluous, then attacked and finally driven back to the persecuted periphery of a declining social consciousness of culture. Confucius (and Confucianism) "spoke neither of irregular things, nor of spirits" ('Lun-yü', Chapter VII), and he did not even reject existence after death for instance, he simply never dealt with it, saying: whoever does not even know life, how could he understand death? ('Lun-yü', XI).

It is probably not accidental that all these ancient or later uncanonized beliefs, of which only parts have been preserved at random, have proved to be inadequate to form the basis of a lost mythology; they refuse to be integrated into a body of concepts and doctrines. The primitive world-concept of a historically obsolete phase of social history preserved for thousands of years by a prehistorical mode of existence, never completely discredited and overcome, and thus long haunting in its fragments — on the whole repressed, isolated and decaying, but occasionally flourishing — found its natural place in oppositional ideologies. Traditional pious stories fitted easily into the illustrations of Taoism with local and folk roots that escaped into "non-action" — as a form of revolt — as well as into the legends of foreign-based Buddhism which was spreading in a Chinese form and shared the fate of Taoism in its persecution, too. They harmonically merge within the popular "strange stories" of despised belles-lettres proper, created with the help of the proselytizing propaganda of Buddhism. The multitudinous empires of spirits, ghosts, demons and fairies, which offer mirror imperial order, too, reveal the influence of Taoist-Buddhist mediation; but their miraculous stories have their counterpoints in the whole of Chinese literature, even in quasi-scientific or wholly scientific works. This is due rather to the rudimentary character of the contemporary scientific world concept than to the existence of a coherent "other world" with valid system of social symbols.

In its efforts to form a coherent system, Confucianism also refrained from meddling with magic forces, partly because of state interests, and because it considered the ceremonial complex of magic elements to be the only form of magic worthy of survival in a civilised society, i.e. a society like its own, proud of its existence as a state. As it organised the state, it declared itself the sole and direct heir to the ancient and continuously evolving civilisation of China, wherever possible it sought for ancient examples in mythical tradition

to justify its belief in an unbroken historical eternity, as valid as the laws of nature. And it was never possible throughout the whole history of the Chinese state to create that remoteness which would lend itself to the manufacture of a systematic mythology. There never existed wide gulf between the mentality of the scholar-officials who organised Confucianism into a system, and the first Chinese state(s) in their efforts to civilize the country and the images of those personified in mythical forms.

The most characteristic features of ancient times in the preserved written tradition, i.e. in records preserving and forming traditions also reveal their social function. The old stories are quoted as presenting a more and more shining image, a polished mirror of correct and proper government and have become parts of a deliberately rationalised world concept, practical in both aspect and method. Thus they tend to lose their miraculous elements, or the elements of everyday reality cease to be presented in the usual order of everyday experiences. Slowly, as one characteristic moment of the story becomes more and more important until it serves as a model or justification, even the story of mythical persons presented as if they were real personages fades into unrecognition.

References to the age of the myths point out first of all some features of state-organisation, deriving these methods from ancient times and emphasizing their continuous and even present-day survival. Confucius for example suggests that when teaching somebody the principles of government, we should follow the Hsia-dynasty's schedule (calendar), travel on the Yin-dynasty's official coach, and wear the Chou-dynasty's ceremonial cap... ('Lun-yü', Chapter XV). And in another passage attributed to him, he refers to the beginning of the Chou-era (11th — 3rd century B.C.), to the founders of the Chou-dynasty to justify the peaceful conservation of the ancient patriarchal organisation as well as the activity of a court administration above it, tracing back the first, primitive organisation of the division of labour to the "kung" (prince) of Chou, i.e. to the period prior to the foundation of the dynasty Chou, placing it in Lu principality, the native land of Confucianism. In this passage, Chou kung explained to his son, the prince of Lu that a virtuous prince ("chün-tzu") did not dismiss his relatives, did not arouse the chief ministers' ("ta-ch'en") indignation by not leaving them in their office and did not deprive members of old families of their office unless he had a very good reason to do so, and, finally, he did not expect a single man to possess every ability ('Lun-yü', Chapter XVIII).

The actual processes of state-organisation are presented most plausibly in the innumerable, multicoloured and heterogeneous traditional fragments which describe how the first rulers regulated waters and land, how canals and dams were built, the omens of earth and heaven and other knowledge of existential and social importance studied and the fate of persons of dubious age and their histories revealed; more plausible, in fact, than by patent and tendentious condensations of historical events, which nearly always appear to be falsification, as for example we see in the extracts quoted above from the most classical work of Confucianism. The persons who appear in the mythical stories

with several names appear also as divine ancestors in some elements of traditional accounts and are ranked among the prehistoric "emperors" of mythical number and rank, succession and period of rule in later historical chronologies; in other stories the same persons are heroes and sages with magical power or knowledge, e.g. the personification of agriculture and barter, the introducer of medical science, and he who formulated the signs of divination; in the end, they become the ministers of the so called "Yellow emperor" and fade away into the mythical past. It is not their personal fate but the process of organising the state, the organisation of administration following the age of cultic leaders and cultural heroes that assures the order of their stories. For that reason even if the fragmental mosaic of myths would be carefully fitted together or is set into order according to persons and, let's say, catalogued, they would remain shadowy figures. (For that matter, nobody attempted to catalogue them, perhaps because of the dispiriting difficulty firstly with interpreting the material and then rearranging and selecting it.)

On the basis of the writer's latest investigations [3], she was led to the realisation that the Chinese myths may contain historical evidence even in their prehistoric anachronism; that this evidence may often be even more authentic than the early historical records which can be dated but are bound to a date, spotlighting a single event; and this conclusion seems to offer a key to the many-sided, complex problem of the network of tradition and traditional texts. Instead of forcing an "epic" interpretation and coherence on the myths from outside and from a distance of several thousand years, we should grasp the historical moment of their crystallization; instead of concentrating on the exact date of the events they relate, we should rather observe the processes evolving from them, in our case, during the period of state formation in China which is not easy to circumscribe but provides an unparalleled historical lesson. In China the first, decisive and peculiarly long ("Asiatic") turning point of historical development, the foundation of civilisation and its final phase constitutes the period to which the myths are relevant, in which the broken pieces of reality unite. It would seem the main task of historical research to give the due credit to written mythical tradition which has shed light on a crucial chapter in history, created and crystallised in the myths, so that even the timeless myths themselves — made to speak in their natural place and context — can be interpreted as authentic sources of social-historical processes.

Notes

1. A preliminary form of this paper was submitted in Hungarian to the conference devoted to the work and memory of the eminent classical-philologist K. Marót (Budapest 1973, Eötvös Loránd University), cf. 'Idő és történelem, A Marót Károly emlékkonferencia előadásai' [Time and History. The Papers of the Károly Marót Memorial Conference, ed. by L. Kákossy, E. Gaál], Budapest 1974.
2. On the nature of Chinese historical works see E. BALÁZS, 'L'histoire comme guide de la pratique bureaucratique (Les monographies, les encyclopédies, les recueils de statuts): Historians of China and Japan, ed. by W. G. Beasley and E. G. Pulleyblank, London 1961.
3. Cf. 'The Asian Soil of Chinese Civilization': Ancient Society and the Asiatic Mode of Production, ed. by F. Tókei, Budapest (in print).

A. FODOR

THE USE OF PSALMS IN JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN ARABIC MAGIC

It is well known that the sacred books of different religions have played a significant role in popular beliefs and practices. The Old and New Testaments and the Koran in their entirety or in some of their special passages have also had their part to perform in this respect. The use of Psalms for magic purposes gained a particular importance among Jews and Christians alike. The subject of bibliomancy has been sufficiently treated by M. GRUNWALD and Kaufmann KOHLER in the 'Jewish Encyclopedia' [1] where a separate article by L. BLAU is also devoted to the topic of psalmomancy. [2] GRUNWALD himself has also dealt with the whole subject in a more detailed study [3] and in both places has enumerated the different uses of Psalms.

As these studies clearly show, the numerous manuscripts of the works (termed "Shimmush Tehillim") on psalmomancy can be considered as more or less the same versions of one original work with slight differences in details. The frequently reprinted copies of the "Shimmush Tehillim" books also enjoyed wide popularity in Europe. [4]

A Syriac manuscript of the last century published by C. KAYSER indicates that psalmomancy was also practised by Syrian Christians. [5] Concerning the date of the original work which was used by the nineteenth century copyist, KAYSER, on the evidence of the Arabic words occurring in the text, refers it back only to the age of Arabic domination. What can be assumed is that a "Shimmush Tehillim" must also have served as a prototype for the Syriac version. [6]

The aim of the present paper is to widen the scope of investigation of the former studies by drawing a comparison between a Hebrew manuscript of a "Shimmush Tehillim" that can be found in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and some Arabic works of the "Shimmush Tehillim" kind that have recently come to light. The Hebrew manuscript in question has so far passed unnoticed in the literature relating to this subject and is listed as A. 241 in the KAUFMANN collection. [7] The opportunity offered by the 25th Anniversary of the Oriental Collection and more

specifically the recent appearance of two "Murshids" (Guides) to the use of Psalms for magical purposes, one published in the 'Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte' in 1970[8], the other by the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale in 1975[9] encouraged me to choose this theme. Since neither of the editors of these two Guides hinted at the possible Jewish background of the texts and neither did they deem it necessary to try to study them in the broader context of non-Arabic magic literature on the same subject, I wish to dwell on the relationships between Hebrew "Shimmush Tehillim" works as represented here by the manuscript of the KAUFMANN collection (in the following K) and the Christian Arabic Guides to Psalms as represented by the text edited by Nessim Henry HENEIN (in the following H). Interestingly, in defiance of the official prohibition of the Copt Church, there is still in circulation in Egypt a printed booklet, the 'Murshid ad-darîr ilâ sifr al-mazâmîr' (The Guide of the Blind to the Book of Psalms) which is seemingly of the same provenance as H.

The complete title of K is 'Shimmush Tehillim ^cim lôah ha-mizmôrîm' (The Use of Psalms with the Table of the Psalms) and as is attested in KAUFMANN's own handwriting the manuscript originally came from Yemen and came into his possession in 1883. The booklet contains 44 pages written in black ink in quadrate script. The prescriptions can be found until Psalm 136 only, since the last pages are missing. Even a cursory glance at K and H shows us that we have two different texts in front of us which cannot be looked upon as simple versions of an original work.

But let us firstly examine more closely some pieces of K and H where similarities in content can be discovered.

The instruction in K concerning Psalm 1 reads as follows:

"Blessed is the man. Write it on a parchment of gazelle until whatsoever he does shall prosper. His name is Ēl Ehād (One God). How? Alef (comes) from ashrē (blessed), l from lō kēn (not so, see verse 4), h from yašliaḥ (prosper), d from derek reshā^cim (the way of the ungodly, see verse 6). And write: 'Let thy will be Ēl Ḥad (One God) that you make the woman N daughter of N not to abort and heal her with a perfect healing from now on and for ever.[10] Alef, alef, alef, s, s, s.' And hang this upon her."

As the general theme of Psalm 1 is the happiness of the godly and the unhappiness of the ungodly, it might seem rather inappropriate to try to find here a prophylactic against miscarriage. However, there does seem to be a reference in verse 3 which says that "And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither; ..." The suggestive parallel between childbirth in the proper time and the tree which ripens its fruit does not call for further explanation.

The comparison with the corresponding Arabic text makes it clear that the picture of the tree must have been basic to the idea. The prescription accompanying Psalm 1 is missing from the text of H, so the version in the printed 'Murshid ad-darîr' will be reproduced below:

"Blessed is the man. It should be written for the woman who cannot bear children.

Having it written, the servant of the blessed Psalm and of the blessed, magnificent verses should be entrusted to protect her from fear, anxiety and the miscarriage of children. Finally he should say this: 'Answer, by the right of Ehye Asher Ehye Adonai Lord of Šebâ'ôt Ēl Shaddai.' This (Psalm) can also be written for the tree which drops its fruit (and it should be written) until the end of His word. And none of its leaves will be scattered and will be buried in the vineyard. The noble verses and the blessed names which are in them should also be entrusted with the protection of the tree or the vine against dropping their fruit. Then he says: 'Answer, by the right of the Greatest Name of the Great God.' Then it should be uttered seven times over water and (if) he who is bewitched washes his face with it during three days (the bewitchment) will be untied from over him, God willing. After the recital on each of the seven occasions, the servant of the blessed Psalm and the pure angels should be entrusted with the breaking and lifting up of every (malefic) practice, bewitchment, binding and tying from above this and this (person) by the right of Him who is victorious over you and whom you are subjected to."

According to K, if somebody writes Psalm 2 on a potsherd and throws it into the raging sea, he will find deliverance from the storm. Inspiration for this might have come from verse 9 which says "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel."

The Arabic version of H apparently exploits the very same idea but for a different purpose. The author writes that should anybody wish to destroy the earthenware of a potter, he is supposed to inscribe the first 9 verses on an unbaked pot which, exposed to the sun's rays, had cracked. If this pot is put into the baking oven with the other vessels, it will cause them to break into pieces.

Psalm 3 in K is a useful remedy against headaches and pains in the shoulders. The method of procedure is as follows: the Psalm should be recited over olive oil to which salt is later added. The aching part of the body must then be rubbed with the mixture.

For this Psalm, the Arabic text of H specifies several directions for use and also states that it is effective against headaches when recited over rose oil. The only imaginable common starting point for the authors of K and H may be found in the word "head" in verse 3 although it is taken completely out of its original context: "But thou, O Lord, art a shield for me; my glory, and the lifter up of mine head."

In the case of Psalms 4 and 5 no similarity exists either in content or in the manner of employing a particular phrase or word in the text.

As regards the prescription accompanying Psalm 6 in K, we find that should anybody have a pain in the eye, the Psalm and the name hidden in it must be recited over the eye seven times on a Tuesday. H also refers to the healing of the eye as one of the possible uses of Psalm 6. The common starting point can be traced back to verse 7 where the eye is alluded to, although in a context that would suggest a meaning completely different from the idea of healing: "Mine eye is consumed because of grief; it waxeth old because of all mine enemies."

According to both K and H, Psalm 7 can be resorted to in imploring protection against one's enemies and when one has to appear before a tribunal. The general content of the Psalm fully supports this application especially in verses 8-11 where the judgement of the righteous by God is clearly pictured.

An allusion to the "mouth of babes and sucklings" in verse 2 of Psalm 8 was sufficient for both K and H to find in it an appropriate remedy to silence crying children.

This comparison and the search for further parallelisms could be continued but the examples quoted so far by way of illustration are quite enough to enable us to arrive at certain conclusions.

First of all, in spite of many common features, no textual concordances can be discovered between K and H, so borrowing on the part of either of the texts seems to be ruled out. The only exception to this may perhaps be found in the comment on Psalm 16 since both K and H describe in very similar terms a procedure aimed at establishing the identity of a thief. What makes this all the more surprising is that, curiously enough, nothing in the text of the Psalms is likely to account for this idea.

The various instructions attached to the Psalms are arranged according to the following scheme: The author firstly cites some opening words from the Psalm, then enumerates the results which can be attained with its help, under what circumstances and by the use of what sort of magical practices it is effective. Finally, he usually discloses one of the names given to God hidden in the Psalm, which is instrumental in guaranteeing its effectiveness. In most cases no visible point of contact exists between the real purport of the Psalm and the uses attributed to it unless we consider as such the fact that a general invocation is practically implied in each Psalm. There are some instances, however, where the author is clearly inspired by a certain verse of the Psalm or by a symbol in it or simply by a word, however out of context it may be, and finds therein a way of utilizing the Psalm for his own purposes.

These structural components are also present in H and further analogies can be found in the various objects employed in the course of the magic operation. It is especially important to note that neither in K nor in H is the original sacred text in itself regarded as sufficient to produce the required effect. The Hebrew practice resorts to the help of the powerful names disguised in the text; the Arabic procedure is to attribute the necessary executive power mainly to the servants of the Psalms. We may feel justified in describing this process as magic working in a twofold way. Originally some of the Psalms might have played the role of magic incantations [11] but now these had to be supplemented with a more sophisticated system of magical operations.

Generally speaking, the Hebrew and Arabic instructions accompanying the Psalms are intended as remedies for everyday troubles and ills. These prescriptions may help alleviate real or imaginary diseases such as pains in the body, fever, serpent bites, the harmful effect of the evil eye, vexation by evil spirits etc., but they can be equally effective for an expectant woman and to help in the observance of religious regulations. But at the same time quite a number of cases

refer to social distress. It cannot be a mere coincidence that, judged by the frequency with which the theme occurs, people are so eager to find favor with the powerful or to take courage when they have to appear before a tribunal or the Sultan. Neither is it by chance that advice on how to escape from prison and how to defend oneself against thieves and enemies appears frequently. If we consider this personal and social background we cannot help but come to the conclusion that, notwithstanding all the differences, the Hebrew and Arabic versions must have come from the same social milieu.

Putting this in other words, we may rightly assume that in a given society the remedies proposed to cure a concrete social or personal disease may differ from individual to individual or from one religious community to another, but on a practical level these remedies belong to a well-defined group and number just as do the disease they are intended to cure. Indeed it would appear that remedies and diseases are actually common responses offered to common challenges. And when we realize that Muslims make use of the Koran with the same technique for the same purposes[12], we find that we are dealing with a popular religion which has been shared in many aspects by Jews, Christians and Muslims in spite of differences in the official religions.

Notes

1. 'The Jewish Encyclopedia' III, New York-London 1902, pp. 202-205, s.v. Bibliomancy. See also J. TRACHTENBERG, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, New York 1939, pp. 104-113.
2. *Ibid.*, X, New York-London 1905, pp. 240-241, s.v. Psalmomancy. For the efficacy of the recital of Psalms see also H. SCHWARZBAUM, *Studies in Jewish and World Folklore*, Berlin 1968, pp. 8, 45, 83, 449, 457.
3. M. GRUNWALD, 'Bibliomantie und Gesundbeten': *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde* 10(1902) pp. 81-98, see esp. pp. 91-95.
4. See Ch. B. FRIEDBERG, *Bet Eked Sepharim* III, Tel-Aviv 1954, p. 1017, no. 1707 and A. FREIMAN, *Union Catalog of Hebrew Manuscripts and their Locations* II, New York 1964, p. 416, no. 10553.
5. C. KAYSER, 'Gebrauch von Psalmen zur Zauberei': *ZDMG* 42(1888) pp. 456-462.
6. D. SIMONSEN, 'Ein Nachtrag zu der Abhandlung "über "Gebrauch von Psalmen zur Zauberei": *ZDMG* 42(1888) pp. 693 f. M. WEISZ, *Néhai Dr. Kaufmann Dávid tanár könyvtárának héber kéziratai és könyvei*, Budapest 1906, p. 92. The material of the MS is paper and not parchment as Weisz states.
8. A. KHATER, 'L'emploi des Psaumes en thérapie avec formules en caractères cryptographiques': *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 14(1970) pp. 123-176.
9. N. H. HENEIN - Th. BIANQUIS, *La magie par les Psaumes*, Le Caire 1975.
10. For this invocation cf. J. LEVY, *Neuhebraisches und chaldaisches Wörterbuch* IV, Leipzig 1889, pp. 461 f, *refiā*.
11. See e.g. A. SZÖRÉNYI, *Psalmen und Kult im Alten Testament*, Budapest 1961, pp. 232ff.
12. See e.g. A. FODOR, 'Notes on an Arabic Amulet Scroll': *Acta Orient. Hung.* 27(1973) pp. 269-289. For a list of the required aims see inter alia the table of contents in al-BUNĪ, 'Kitāb Shams al-ma'ārif', Cairo, n.d.

J. HARMATTA

SIR AUREL STEIN AND THE DATE OF THE SOGDIAN „ANCIENT LETTERS”

Without doubt the Sogdian 'Ancient Letters' belong to the group of the most interesting written sources concerning the history of Ancient Central Asia.[1] Their historical value was clearly recognized by Sir Aurel Stein even before their decipherment and publication. Without any knowledge of the contents of the 'Ancient Letters', he counted with two possibilities: either they testify to the presence of an Iranian element in the indigenous population of the Tun-huang Limes or they may emanate from Sogdian traders travelling along the "Silk Route" between China and the Sogdian land.[2] The correct evaluation of any historical source, however, is only possible after clearing up its chronological position. It happened, therefore, not by chance that the date of the 'Ancient Letters' aroused a keen interest among Iranian scholars.

It is interesting to observe that Sir Aurel Stein himself did not raise the question of the date of the 'Ancient Letters'. He only wanted to establish certain chronological limits for the use of the paper on which the letters were written. He referred to the invention dated from 105 A.D. of the paper in China on the one hand, and to the latest Chinese documents, dated from 137 A.D. and 153 A.D. respectively, found on the Tun-huang Limes, on the other hand. On the basis of this and other archaeological evidence he concluded "that the garrisoning of the stations of the Limes must have ceased some time in the second century A.D." [3] From this statement it becomes perfectly clear that he imagined the writing of these paper documents roughly between 105 A.D. and the end of the second century A.D. Unfortunately, the opinion expounded by Sir Aurel Stein concerning the composing of the Sogdian 'Ancient Letters' was misunderstood and misinterpreted by H. Reichelt, publishing these documents for the first time. He ascribed to him the view that the letters arose between 105 A.D. and 137/153 A.D., i.e. between the invention of the paper and the supposed withdrawal of the Chinese garrisons from the Limes.[4] As anybody can state, however, from the text quoted above, Sir Aurel Stein carefully put the abandoning of the military stations on the Tun-huang Limes into "some time in the second century A.D."

It is to be regretted that W. B. Henning, too, was misled by the mistake committed by Reichelt. Thus, he ascribed again the opinion to Sir Aurel Stein ac-

according to which the 'Ancient Letters' are to be dated between 105 A.D. and 137-153 A.D. Besides, he wanted to refute this theory, ascribed erroneously to Sir Aurel Stein, even by archaeological arguments, placed as his disposal by G. Haloun. Unfortunately, Henning had no acquaintance either with archaeological methodology or with the archaeological finds of the Tun-huang Limes. Thus happened that the essence of the argumentation expounded by Sir Aurel Stein fully escaped his attention. Moreover, he supposed that the 'Ancient Letters' were found together with about seven hundred Chinese documents.[5] Accordingly, he believed that the main argument used by Stein for a date between 105 A.D. and 137/153 A.D. was the joint occurrence of the 'Ancient Letters' and the dated Chinese documents. Now, Haloun composed a table[6] for him which shows that while 78 Chinese documents are dated between 98 B.C. and 39 B.C. and 30 pieces between 1 A.D. and 94 A.D., it is only one document which dates back to 137 A.D. and another doubtful one dated from 153 A.D. On the basis of these data Henning stressed that it is perilous "to argue that the Sogdian Letters must belong to a year in which occupation of the site is attested by the presence of a Chinese document" because "Chinese paper documents, too, some (three) from the second (?) century, but most of them (eleven) from T'ang times, probably the eight century, were found in the same area".[7]

The archaeological facts are, however, the followings. The Tun-huang Limes represents a fortification system the extent of which is more than 70 miles.[8] Behind the wall rose a chain of watch-towers. The distance of these from each other varied between $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile and $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The overwhelming majority of the finds unearthed by Sir Aurel Stein came to light exactly in the ruins of buildings adjoining to the watch-towers and in refuse-heaps situated in or around them. That means that we have to do not with one but with many archaeological sites on the Tun-huang Limes inasmuch as each watch-tower represents a separate site lying often at a distance of 3-4 miles from the other one. On the basis of a thorough study of the archaeological finds and the Chinese documents found at the separate sites, Sir Aurel Stein succeeded in elucidating the historical fate of several watch-towers. Each of them had its own individual fate: they were built at different times as the construction of the Limes advanced westwards; they were used for various purposes, garrisoned or abandoned and reoccupied again at several epochs.

It is impossible, therefore, to say that the Sogdian 'Ancient Letters' "were found together with a large number (about seven hundred) of Chinese documents" because this is the total number of the Chinese documents found along the Tun-huang Limes (708 published by E. Chavannes to which 62 published later by H. Maspero can be added) in at least 31 sites. We must take, however, into consideration that the finds came to light on several places within one and the same site. Thus the 770 documents belong to 67 finding places. This was the case also at watch-tower T.XII,a, the finding place of the 'Ancient Letters' where finds were made at several places. Accordingly, the Sogdian 'Ancient Letters' were found together with only two complete Chinese slips (documents Nos. 607, 609) and a fragmentary one[9], i.e. instead of about seven hundred Chinese documents with only

Date	Serial number of the documents[12]	Inventory number of the documents[13]
39 B.C.	No. 428	T. V. 2
	No. 429	T. V. 4
34 B.C.	No. 84[20]	T. VI. b. I. 298
17 B.C.	No. 6. M. (?)	T. XXIII. c. 023; T. XXIII. 1. II. 013
1 A.D.	No. 593 (?)	T. XII. a. II. 9
4 A.D.	No. 355[21]	T. XIV. IV. 3
5 A.D.	No. 400	T. XIII. III. 4
8 A.D.	No. 585	T. VIII. II. 2
9 A.D.	No. 585	T. VIII. II. 2
12 A.D.	No. 272	T. XXII. b. 9
14 A.D.	No. 307	T. XIV. III. 25
14-19 A.D.	No. 371	T. XIV. I. 30
	No. 372	T. XIV. I. 8
15 A.D.	No. 356 (?)	T. XIV. VII. 8
	No. 482	T. XV. a. II. 49
17 A.D.	No. 368	T. XIV. I. (well)
	No. 369	T. XIV. I. (cave)
20-21 A.D.	No. 592	T. XII. a. 3
35 A.D.	No. 562	T. XXVII. 6
43 A.D.	No. 483	T. XV. a. II. 22
46 A.D.	No. 484	T. XV. a. II. 9
47 A.D.	No. 31. M.	T. XXII. d. 015
50 A.D.	No. 563	T. XXVII. 3
	No. 564	T. XXVII. 2
53 A.D.	No. 565	T. XXVII. 13
55 A.D.	No. 485	T. XV. (a. II.)41
56 A.D.	No. 486	T. XV. a. II. 38
61 A.D.	No. 566	T. XXVII. 5
63 A.D.	No. 34. M.	T. XXII. d. 019
64 A.D.	No. 33. M.	T. XXII. d. 018
67 A.D.	No. 535	T. XV. a. I. 12
68 A.D.	No. 579	T. XVI. 4
75 A.D.	No. 613	T. XXVIII. 8
	No. 614	T. XXVIII. 54
77 A.D.	No. 580	T. XVI. 3
87 A.D.	No. 390	T. XIV. a. I. 1
92 A.D.	No. 60. M.	T. XXIII. 1. 02
94 A.D.	No. 537	T. XV. a. I. 1
115 A.D.	No. 41. M. [22]	T. XXII. d. 024
137 A.D.	No. 536	T. XV. a. I. 6
153 A.D.	No. 680[23]	T. XI. II. 6
205 A.D.	No. 5. M. [24]	T. XXII. f. 1

On the basis of Table I we can state that there exists no contrast between the two documents, containing the dates 137 A.D. and 153 A.D., and the group of all other documents concerning their chronological evidence and the chronological gap between them as it was supposed by Haloun and Henning. At first, it must be stressed that we have evidence (= dated document) for altogether 54 years (even if we include some doubtful cases) from the 303 ones between 98 B.C. and 205 A.D., i.e. for only 17,8 % of the whole space of time. Then we can state that we have only one evidence for 39 years, i.e. 72 % of the 54 evidenced ones and two evidences for 13 years, i.e. 24 % of the total. It follows that 82,2 % of the years from 98 B.C. to 205 B.C. are not attested by dated Chinese documents at all and 96,2 % of the indicated 54 years are only evidenced by one — in a few cases by two — documents. Lastly, as regards the chronological gaps, the relevant data are as follows: the gap of 51 years occurs one time and also the gaps of 25, 21, 20, 17, 15, 14, 12, 9, 7, 5 years occur one time each. That means that 11 chronological gaps span 196 years, i.e. the average length of these gaps is 17,8 years. Besides, 25 short gaps span 53 years, the average being 2,1 years.

These data prevent us from devaluating the testimony of the Chinese documents dated from 137 A.D. and 153 A.D. respectively. The overwhelming majority (72,2 %) of the years evidenced between 98 B.C. and 205 B.C. are only attested by one dated document. It seldom occurs that these documents form coherent chronological series as Henning believed [25] and even in these few cases the series are very short; we find only 3 series consisting of at least 3 successive years: 96-95-94 B.C., 65-64-63 B.C., and 61-60-59-58-57-56 B.C. On the contrary, the 54 attested years are as a rule separated from each other by longer chronological gaps spanning on the average about 18 years in 11 cases, and by shorter gaps of two years on the average in 25 cases. Accordingly, the two discussed documents fit well into the system of occurrence and chronology of the dated Chinese documents found on the Tun-huang Limes and from historical view-point their testimony cannot be devaluated or neglected.

Table II

Sites/Finding Places[26]	Dates[27]
T. IV. b. II	94 B.C.
T. V	39 B.C.
T. VI. b	63 B.C.
T. VI. b. I	65 B.C., 63 B.C., 61 B.C., 60 B.C., 59 B.C., 58 B.C., 58 or 54 B.C., 57 B.C., 56 B.C., 34 B.C.
T. VI. b. II	68 B.C., 65 B.C. (?)

Sites/Finding Places[26]	Dates[27]
T. VI. b. IV	64 B. C.
T. VIII. II	8 A. D.
T. XI. II	153 A. D.
T. XII. a	20-21 A. D.
T. XII. a. II	1 A. D. (?)
T. XIII. I	56 B. C.
T. XIII. III	5 A. D.
T. XIV. I	9 A. D. , 14-19 A. D. , 17 A. D.
T. XIV. II	48 B. C. (?) , 45 B. C.
T. XIV. III	96 B. C. , 95 B. C. , 94 B. C. , 14 A. D.
T. XIV. IV	4 A. D.
T. XIV. VII	15 A. D.
T. XIV. a. I	87 A. D.
T. XV. a. I	67 A. D. , 94 A. D. , 137 A. D. , 15 A. D. , 43 A. D. , 46 A. D. , 55 A. D. , 56 A. D.
T. XV. a. II	61 B. C. , 53 B. C.
T. XV. a. III	68 A. D. , 77 A. D.
T. XVI	58 B. C.
T. XVII	52 B. C.
T. XVIII. I	52 B. C.
T. XVIII. III	12 A. D. , 35 A. D.
T. XXII. b	98 B. C.
T. XXII. c	47 A. D. , 63 A. D. , 64 A. D. , 115 A. D.
T. XXII. d	13 A. D. , 17 A. D. , 205 A. D.
T. XXII. f	17 B. C. (?)
T. XXIII. c	92 A. D.
T. XXIII. I	35 A. D. , 50 A. D. , 53 A. D. , 61 A. D.
T. XXVII	75 A. D.
T. XXVIII	

Table II elucidates the connections between the sites (and finding places) and the dates occurring in the Chinese documents as well as the distribution of the occurring dates among the finding places. Dated Chinese documents came to light at 21 watch-towers, i.e. 68 % of all watch-towers where Chinese documents were found. The 21 watch-towers provided 33 finding places, i.e. 49 % of all finding places where Chinese documents were unearthed. It follows that we have dates for roughly three-quarters of the watch-towers and for the half of the finding places giving Chinese slips. The distribution of the dates among the finding places is again very interesting. At 19 finding places (i.e. 57 % of the total) we have evidence for 1 year, at 6 finding places for two years, at 3 finding places for 3 years,

at 3 finding places for 4 years, at 1 finding place for 5 years and at 1 finding place for 10 years. That means that from the period spanning 303 years between 98 B.C. and 205 A.D. we have chronological evidence for the garrisoning of a watch-tower only during 3,3 % of this space of time even in the most favourable case.

We cannot pass, of course, the obvious fact with silence that this source material is relatively scanty. This fact did not escape the attention of Sir Aurel Stein either who himself emphasized: "It is impossible to expect that, with such scattered and often incomplete materials as our documents from the watch-posts of the Tun-huang Limes are, we should be able with certainty to reconstitute all essential details." [28] In spite of the obvious difficulties resulting from the scantiness of the evidence concerning the history of the Tun-huang Limes, we cannot despair of using it for the elucidation of the date of the Sogdian 'Ancient Letters' because this evidence — be it ever so scanty — does exist and neglecting it we would commit a serious methodological error.

At first, we have to elucidate how this scattered written evidence came into being and what its relation is to the original mass of documents produced by the Chinese military administration on the Tun-huang Limes. On the basis of the testimony of the Chinese documents we can state that a written management existed at the greater part of the watch-towers where Chinese troops were permanently stationed. The written documents comprised among others calendars, registers of official letters received, official orders, military and financial documents, private records etc. Surely, we have to reckon at least with one calendar and several dated official letters at each watch-post every year. Consequently, it becomes obvious that the original mass of Chinese documents at the watch-towers must have been considerably greater than the number actually found by Sir Aurel Stein. We may even regard the latter as a very small fraction of all written documents produced.

The documents were obviously preserved for several years. On the basis of the "small official archive — thrown down together on the rubbish-strewn slope" [29] found at watch-tower T.VI.b and containing documents dated from 65 B.C. up to 56 B.C., we can even presume that they were kept for a decade. Thereafter they were thrown on the refuse-heap or, as more frequently happened, repeatedly scraped, clean and used as palimpsest writing material [30] or simply used as matchwood and fuel for heating. [31] Leaving the station the garrison evidently took the archive of the last few years along. Accordingly, unless the watch-tower suffered destruction, we must assume that the occupation of a watch-tower lasted 5-10 years beyond the last date on the Chinese documents found on the refuse-heaps there. On the basis of the above-said we must regard the testimony of the Chinese documents found by Sir Aurel Stein at the Tun-huang Limes as a minimum information system and not as a maximum one as was done by Haloun and Henning.

Now, on the basis of these facts and considerations, we can draw some important conclusions as regards the history of the Tun-huang Limes and the general testimony of its Chinese documents. Table II enables us to draw the following sketchy picture of the stationing of Chinese troops at the watch-towers:

1st epoch 98 B.C. - 34 B.C.

T. IV	94 B.C.
T. V	39 B.C.
T. VI.b	68 B.C. - 34 B.C.
T. XIII	56 B.C.
T. XIV	96 B.C. - 45 B.C.
T. XV.a, III	61 B.C. - 53 B.C.
T. XVII	58 B.C.
T. XVIII	52 B.C.
T. XXII.c	98 B.C.

Intermediate epoch 34 B.C. - 1 A.D.

T. XXIII.c	17 B.C. (?)
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2nd epoch 1 A.D. - 205 A.D.

T. VIII	8-9 A.D.
T. XI	153 A.D.
T. XII.a	1 A.D. - 20-21 A.D.
T. XIII	5 A.D.
T. XIV	4 A.D. - 19 A.D.
T. XIV.a	87 A.D.
T. XV.a, II	15 A.D. - 56 A.D.
T. XV.a, I	67 A.D. - 137 A.D.
T. XVI	68 A.D. - 77 A.D.
T. XXII.b	12 A.D. - 35 A.D.
T. XXII.d	47 A.D. - 115 A.D.
T. XXII.f	13 A.D. - 205 A.D.
T. XXIII. 1	92 A.D.
T. XXVII	35 A.D. - 61 A.D.
T. XXVIII	75 A.D.

Defective though this evidence may be, it clearly proves that the history of the Tun-huang Limes consists of two epochs: one beginning with the creation of the Limes and lasting up to the thirties of the 1st century B.C., the other comprising practically the whole of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. It would appear that the military occupation of the Limes was not quite the same in these two epochs. In the first half of the 1st century B.C. greater importance was ascribed to the westernmost section of the Limes where, between the watch-towers T.IV.a and T.IV.b, a fortified camp as a bridge-head for western expeditions was established and at watch-tower T.VI.b a great military administrative centre existed. About the thirties of the 1st century B.C., however, the westernmost

section of the Limes was apparently abandoned. Notwithstanding, abundant finds of Chinese documents prove beyond any doubt that the greater part of the Limes was also garrisoned during the Later Han Dynasty. And even though dated documents are almost entirely missing after the middle of the IInd century A.D., there can be hardly any doubt that the Tun-huang Limes preserved its significance also during the second half of the IInd century A.D. and after the loss of the Western Countries in 153 A.D. its importance as a frontier line and border land became even greater. The scantiness of dated Chinese documents from the second half of the IInd century A.D. can probably be ascribed mostly to the circumstance that it is always the uppermost layer exposed to erosion, climate and human destruction which disappears or suffers essential damage.

We must, however, emphasize that there exists no trace of stationing of troops at the Tun-huang Limes during the IIIrd and IVth centuries A.D. This fact cannot be explained by the same causes as the almost total absence of Chinese documents dated from the end of the Later Han Dynasty because Sir Aurel Stein did find numerous Chinese documents dated from the IIIrd century and the beginning of the IVth century A.D. at the Lou-lan site which was equally exposed to wind and erosion. The total absence of finds later than those from the Later Han Age can only be caused by the abandoning of the whole Tun-huang Limes which obviously lost both its military and administrative importance during the IIIrd century A.D.

From the view-point of the date of the Sogdian 'Ancient Letters' it is, therefore, a fact of decisive importance that documents and other finds of the Han Age were exclusively found at the sites and finding places of the Tun-huang Limes. This fact renders the conclusion inevitable that the Sogdian 'Ancient Letters', too, could be written only within the same time limits. Accordingly, they cannot be dated from a time later than the end of the IInd century A.D. It was a regrettable mistake on Henning's part when he believed that the find of eleven Chinese paper documents from T'ang times "in the same area" deprives the archaeological arguments (which were misunderstood and misinterpreted by him) of any validity.[32] He did not recognize that these Chinese paper documents from the T'ang Age were found not at a site or finding place belonging to the Tun-huang Limes of the Han Age but in the remains of a modest Buddhist shrine, built according to the testimony of the Chinese coins found there in the T'ang Age. The stratigraphic position of the shrine is absolutely clear because it was built above a refuse heap of the Han Age.[33] Accordingly, the find of the Chinese paper documents of the T'ang Age in the neighbourhood of watch-tower T.XIV does not alter the fact at all that at the sites and finding places of the Tun-huang Limes only documents and other finds of the Han Age were unearthed. As a final conclusion, on the basis of the archaeological finds of the Tun-huang Limes, we must put the date of the Sogdian 'Ancient Letters' necessarily between the time limits of the Han Age.

Now we can proceed to the other task, viz. to elucidate the fate of the 'Ancient Letters' within the history of the site, the watch-tower T.XII.a and the finding place T.XII.a,II respectively. At first, we must realize the character of the

distribution of documents and other finds among the watch-towers. As was stated above, only some of the watch-towers had a garrison. In the Chinese document No. 617[34] an order is said "to be sent to the commandants of watch-posts and to the company residences...". On the basis of this text we can assume that the Limes was divided into sections and in each section a company was stationed. The companies had their headquarters at a watch-tower each where a system of written administration and an official archive existed. The companies sent smaller detachments on patrol, for signal service and supervision of the traffic to the other watch-towers without permanent garrison. This system explains the abundant occurrence of written documents and debris at some watch-towers and their scantiness or total absence at other watch-posts. The division into sections of the Limes, the number of the companies and the dislocation of their detachments could vary from time to time.

The Sogdian 'Ancient Letters' were found at watch-tower T. XII. a and the circumstances of their discovery are described by Sir Aurel Stein[35] as follows:

"Immediately against the south face of the tower was a space about 4 feet wide, which seemed to have been filled up on purpose with broken bricks and loose earth. Next to this came a still narrower passage (marked II in plan), only 1' 10'' wide, enclosed between walls of single bricks and divided by an equally thin partition into two little compartments, each about 11 feet in length. A thick layer of straw and stable refuse covered this passage as well as a little room, measuring only 5 by 6 feet, which adjoined it and the south-west corner of the tower. The passage, as I convinced myself by subsequent inspection, had its walls still standing to a height of over 4 feet.

Refuse of all kinds had completely filled the passage, and within it was found embedded the remarkable collection of Early Sogdian documents on paper, T. XII. a. II. 1-8... According to the Naik's statement, which I have every reason to accept as accurate, their position was about 3 feet above the floor. In the refuse below them there turned up three Chinese slips, among them two complete ones, Doc. 607, 609. From the little room adjoining westwards came five more Chinese records on wood, also marked T. XII. a. II, among them one, Doc. 593 ... bearing a date which, taken by itself, could safely be read on the spot as corresponding to A. D. 1 ...".

From this description it becomes clear that the Sogdian 'Ancient Letters' were found in a well defined cultural layer of the Han Age which was more than 4 feet thick in the passage where these documents were discovered. On the basis of the Chinese documents found below them and in other finding places of the site, a general outline of the history of the watch-towers T. XII. a and T. XII situated on the same oblong and narrow plateau can be drawn.

Surely, the most intensive military occupation of the watch-towers T. XII. a and T. XII fell into the time of Wang Mang, when T. XII. a must for a time have been a company residence. Comparing the Chinese documents Nos. 596, 597, 598, 599 and 587, we can presume that T. XII. a had three stages from the view-point of military occupation during this epoch. At first, the headquarters of the Kuang-hsin company were at Yü-mên and only a detachment of it was stationed at T. XII. a.

Later on, the headquarters of this company were transferred to the watch-tower T.XII.a. In the third stage, the Kuang-hsin company was followed by the Hsien-ming company, who had been stationed formerly at Yü-mên. At the same time a detachment of the latter company was in charge of the signal service at watch-tower T.XII. Being stationed formerly at Yü-mên, the same company had a detachment at watch-tower T.VIII. These three stages can clearly be distinguished but their sequence cannot be established with certainty; it might even have been in the inverse order. The dislocation at the watch-towers or the concentration in Yü-mên of the companies obviously depended on strategic necessities. In any case, watch-tower T.XII was subordinated to T.XII.a being a company residence at that time.

Neither the Chinese documents nor the other finds discovered in the dustbin T.XII.a.II furnish any basis for the assumption that T.XII.a would have had a permanent garrison already during the Former Han Dynasty. Signal service or supervision of the traffic were probably managed by small patrols and guards sent to these watch-towers from time to time. Thus the rise of the dustbin T.XII.a.II can be connected in all probability with the epoch of Wang Mang. The Chinese documents of this period were thrown away at the time when the permanent garrisons of the watch-towers west of T.XIV were withdrawn to Yü-mên in the thirties or forties of the 1st century A.D. After this event, however, a rather long period must have been passed before the Sogdian 'Ancient Letters' were thrown on the refuse. They were found 3 feet above the floor and about 1 foot below the surface of the dustbin. This stratigraphic position would seem to indicate a point in time towards the end of the Han Age. Thus a further question arises: what could have been the function of the watch-tower T.XII.a after the withdrawal of the permanent garrison?

There exists some evidence (mainly documents) which suggests that the watch-towers T.VI.c, T.XI, T.XII.a and T.XII were kept in use even after the abandoning of the military occupation of the western part of the Tun-huang Limes. This can be explained by the topographic position of the watch-towers listed above. As Sir Aurel Stein pointed out[36], the watch-tower T.XI lying a day's march from T.XV.a and being the last station where drinkable water was obtainable on the route westwards, offered a convenient intermediate halting-place. Similarly, according to his description[37], the watch-tower T.VI.c occupied "an ideal position on the flat top of a small and completely isolated clay terrace. This rises as a conspicuous landmark to a height of fully 150 feet above the surrounding low ground ... Its top completely overlooks the great basin ...". Lastly, as regards the watch-tower T.XII, Sir Aurel Stein drew attention to the fact that "... a post maintained at T.XII was excellently placed for guarding the ancient route and watching the traffic passing along it ... The purpose of T.XII was to serve as a road-side post for what I may call the police control of the border as distinct from its military defence ... In the same way a preliminary watch could be kept here upon travellers, etc. coming from the Western Regions ... the system of 'double check' here assumed could be paralleled ... by plentiful earlier historical evidence ...".[38]

On the basis of these observations it becomes clear that the watch-towers T.VI.c, T.XI and T.XII were obviously used as "police" posts for controlling the traffic coming from or going to the Western Regions. Because of its excellent topographical location, the watch-tower T.XII.a lying on the same oblong and narrow plateau as T.XII, could probably have served with its quarters as the base for the patrols and guards sent to the near-by control post T.XII for the supervision of the traffic. The thick layer of straw and stable refuse in the passage and the little room at T.XII.a suggests that mounted patrols stayed here from time to time.

According to the Chinese document No.150, one of the main tasks of the frontier guards was to control "the men, domestic animals, carts, and arms which leave or enter through the pass". [39] Another Chinese document (No.379) prescribes to prohibit the persons transporting objects other than those of ordinary use from departing from the pass.[40] Obviously, control was extended over a wider range of objects than those mentioned in the two quoted documents. Without doubt among the things controlled at the frontier posts letters were considered of special significance at all times. In this context the finding of the Sogdian 'Ancient Letters' in the dustbin T.XII.a.II also becomes understandable. During internal troubles all governments strive to prevent the dissemination abroad of news and informations concerning the internal state of the country. This may also have been the case at the end of the Later Han Dynasty in China. The Sogdians living and trading in China corresponded with their families, relatives or lords in Sogdiana and informed them about conditions and events in China. As we already know, the Sogdian 'Ancient Letters', too, were of such character. On the basis of the above considerations it now seems very probable that the 'Ancient Letters' were seized by Chinese frontier guards at the watch-tower T.XII as they controlled the caravan transporting the letters as it passed through the second set of controls. The letters were confiscated and brought by them to their base, the quarters at the watch-tower T.XII.a and later thrown on the rubbish.

An exact parallel to the fate of the 'Ancient Letters' is offered by another Sogdian document found by Sir Aurel Stein at the watch-tower T.VI.c. This was a "wooden tablet with Early Sogdian script" (Inv.No.T.VI.c.II.1)[41], taken by Stein for a sign of the presence of Iranian auxiliaries and considered by him a tally.[42] Actually, however, the record was obviously a letter, written on a wooden tablet, the text of which can be read as follows:

line 1	MN nypδ '["From the humble A[
2	βrysk k[δ	you/he should bring (it) wh[en
3	'ktkšw ' ' ' [having done it .[
4	'sknym	I (shall) note (it)"

Remarks on the interpretation

nypδ: the meaning "humble" can be assumed on the basis of B. Sogdian nypδ - "lie down". Line 1 probably contained the name of the writer and that of the addressee and the beginnings of the text.

βry may be 2nd Sing. Pres. and Fut. Indicative, Imperfect or Optative and 3rd Sing. Optative respectively.

sk: durative particle, βrysk may be "you are bringing".

'ktk: cf. B. Sogdian 'krt'k "done". šw = enclitic personal pronoun 3rd Sing. Acc.

'sknym: cf. B. Sogdian skn- "engrave", 'sk'n "sign, sculpture, image", Anc. Lett. sk' 'nk "note, record".

This Sogdian letter, too, was obviously seized by the Chinese frontier guards at the second control post and perhaps used by them for some purpose of their own. Below the Sogdian text a Chinese character was written which can be read tentatively as 𐰽 ch'i. Unfortunately, this word has many meanings and without a context its sense here cannot be established reassuringly. If we assume the meaning "to permit; to transport, to export" here, the character may represent a note made by the Chinese frontier guards at the occasion of the first control at the Jade Gate. It may have been inscribed, however, after the tablet was seized at the second control.

To sum up, the archaeological finds of the Tun-huang Limes and first of all the Chinese documents among them unambiguously prove that the Sogdian 'Ancient Letters' were written at the end of the Han Age, i.e. in the second half or towards the end of the IInd century A.D. This result harmonizes perfectly with the fact that the paper of the 'Ancient Letters' does not yet show any trace of the "sizing" with starch which already appears in a Chinese document from Lou-lan, dated 312 A.D. (No. 912, Inv. No. L.A. VI. II. 0230). [43] Finally, as I have shown elsewhere [44], the contents of Letter II reflect the events connected with the decline and fall of the Later Han Dynasty at the end of the IInd century A.D.

Notes

1. Cf. their appreciation by W.B. HENNING. The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters: BSOAS 12 (1948) p. 602.
2. Sir Aurel STEIN, Serindia II, Oxford 1921. pp. 676, 752.
3. Serindia II. p. 673.
4. H. REICHELDT, Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums II, Heidelberg 1931. p. 6.
5. He wrote: "The Sogdian Letters were found together with a large number (about seven hundred) of Chinese documents" BSOAS 12 (1948) p. 602.
6. Haloun compiled his table on the basis of the table published by E. CHAVANNES (Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein, Oxford 1913, III) of the dates occurring in the Chinese documents. He abridged, however, Chavannes' table arbitrarily by contracting the evidence into two totals and contrasting them with the two latest dates. This manipulation is inadmissible because one could contrast any year evidenced only by one document and separated by a chronological gap from the other years with the total of the other dates. As we show below, the majority of the dates is evidenced only by one document. Had Henning himself consulted

- Chavannes' book he would have spared himself a series of misunderstandings and mistakes.
7. W.B. HENNING: BSOAS 12 (1948) pp. 601-602.
 8. Sir Aurel STEIN, *Serindia* II, p. 735.
 9. Sir Aurel STEIN, *Serindia* II, p. 669. The fragmentary slip is not included among the documents published by E. Chavannes and the inventory number of No. 609 (T.XII. a.II) is obviously incorrect (the serial number of the find is missing).
 10. Sir Aurel STEIN, *Serindia* II, pp. 721-766.
 11. The tables were composed on the basis of the books by E. CHAVANNES, *Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein*, Oxford 1913., by H. MASPERO, *Les documents chinois de la troisième expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale*, London 1953., by Sir Aurel STEIN, *Serindia* II, Oxford 1921., as well as by help of the corrections written by Stein in his copy of Chavannes' book. The table compiled by Chavannes is incomplete: it does not contain every date occurring in the Chinese documents published by him and does not give any reference to their finding places. The latter defectiveness of the table was clearly felt by Stein who wrote in the references to the sites in his copy of the book. In general, studying Chavannes' book, one must constantly consult Sir Aurel STEIN's *Serindia*.
 12. The serial numbers represent those of the documents published by Chavannes while the letter M, after them marks the serial numbers of the documents published by Maspero. A question-mark after the serial number means that the date of the document cannot be established with absolute certainty.
 13. The inventory numbers of the documents contain at the first place the sign of the watch-towers consisting of the capital letter T, a Roman numeral (=serial number of the watch-tower) and sometimes also a minuscule letter, while the second Roman numeral indicates the different refuse-heaps or other finding places within the same site. Lastly, the Arabic numerals mark the serial numbers of the finds unearthed at the indicated finding place. Thus e.g. the inventory number T.XV.a.III.27 is to be explained as follows: T.XV.a = sign of the watch-tower, III - indication of the finding place within the site T.XV.a, 27 = serial number of the find discovered at the finding place III.
The meaning of the inventory numbers became clear even for Chavannes only after Sir Aurel Stein had called his attention to the significance of their different components (cf. his remarks in the Errata of his book, p. 230)
 14. Sir Aurel Stein had convincingly shown (*Serindia*, II, p. 636) that of the two theoretically possible dates proposed by Chavannes, only 94 B.C. can be taken into account from a historical view-point.
 15. This document contains two dates: 63 B.C. and 58 B.C. (Cf. also 58 B.C.)
 16. This document contains two dates: 58 B.C. and 63 B.C. (Cf. also 63 B.C. above.)
 17. Cf. MASPERO, op. cit. p. 41.
 18. Cf. MASPERO, op. cit. p. 9, n.6.
 19. The inventory number T.IV.II.15 in CHAVANNES, op. cit. p. 77 is obviously a misprint and should read T.XIV.II.15 (not corrected by him in the Errata), cf. STEIN, *Serindia* II, p. 688.
 20. Cf. Maspero, op. cit. p. 6, n.7.
 21. This document is not included in the Table compiled by Chavannes, cf. STEIN, *Serindia* II, p. 686.
 22. Cf. MASPERO, op. cit. p. 26. He proposed two alternative dates for this document: 10 B.C. and 115 A.D. Taking into consideration, however, that we have dated documents at the watch-tower T.XXII.d only from 47 A.D. on, we must regard 115 A.D. as the only possible date.
 23. E. CHAVANNES, op. cit. p. 145 determined the date of this document by the following argumentation. The slip, representing part of a calendar, belongs to a group of documents which includes, among others, a slip, analogous to those containing parts of the 'Chi chiu chang' written between 48-33 B.C. Knowledge of this work on the Tun-huang Limes can probably be assumed in his opinion in the Ist and IInd centuries A.D. In this case the date of No. 680 can only be 153 A.D. If we take into consideration that a fragment of the 'Chi

- chiu chang' (No. 4 = T. XVa.1.5) was found together with a slip (T. XV.a.I.12) dated from 67 A.D., this conclusion is obviously inevitable.
24. Cf. MASPERO, *op. cit.* pp. 16-19. The indications of this calendar satisfy two years: 13 B.C. and 205 A.D. Maspero himself adopted the former date. It must not be forgotten, however, that the series of watch-towers marked with XXII produced evidence of only one date from the early 1st century B.C. (98 B.C.); all other dates occurring in the documents found at these watch-towers belong to the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. It seems, therefore, more reasonable to refer the date of No. 5, M to the end of the Later Han Dynasty rather than to the intermediate period before the usurper Wang Mang.
 25. BSOAS 12 (1948) 601, n. 2.
 26. The watch-towers are regarded as sites here, the refuse-heaps, dustbins, quarters at the watch-towers as finding places. The signs for the finding places are indented.
 27. Each year is quoted only once, even if it occurs in several documents.
 28. *Serindia II*, p. 744.
 29. *Serindia II*, p. 645.
 30. Sir Aurel STEIN, *On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks* (Hung. ed.), Budapest 1934, pp. 97, 123; *Serindia II*, pp. 646, 685, 714.
 31. Sir Aurel STEIN, *On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks*, p. 97.
 32. Cf. W. B. HENNING: BSOAS 12 (1948) p. 602. Nobody — and least of all Sir Aurel Stein — asserted that "the Sogdian Letters must belong to a year in which occupation of the site is attested by the presence of a Chinese document, or to a year earlier than that" (Henning: *op. cit.* p. 601).
 33. Cf. Sir Aurel STEIN, *Serindia II*, p. 687.
 34. CHAVANNES, *op. cit.* p. 136; Sir Aurel STEIN, *Serindia II*, p. 749, n. 35a.
 35. *Serindia II*, 669 foll.
 36. *Serindia II*, p. 699.
 37. *Serindia II*, p. 651.
 38. *Serindia II*, p. 679.
 39. CHAVANNES, *op. cit.* p. 45; Sir Aurel STEIN, *Serindia II*, p. 756.
 40. CHAVANNES, *op. cit.* p. 84.
 41. *Serindia II*, p. 652. The description of the tablet (*Serindia II*, p. 770) runs as follows: "Early Sogdian wooden doc.; slip trimmed down R. side, broken away down L., inscr. at top with 4 ll. Sogdian and one char. (5th l.) and rectilinear diagram below."
 42. STEIN (*Serindia II*, p. 654) supposed "that the tablet was cut into two exact halves" but the contents of the Sogdian text prove that such an assumption is impossible. The preserved part may constitute only one fifth or one sixth of the original. Of course, even though the original form of the tablet might have been different from the one supposed by Stein, this fact does not exclude the possibility that Chinese soldiers used a part of it as tally.
 43. Sir Aurel STEIN, *Serindia II*, p. 674.
 44. J. HARMATTA, 'Eine neue Quelle zur Geschichte der Seidenstrasse': *Jb. f. Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1971) 135 foll.

G. HAZAI

„TĀRİḤ-I UNGURUS“ – EINE HANDSCHRIFT AUS DER BIBLIOTHEK DER UNGARISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN

Einleitend sei es erlaubt vor auszuschicken, dass mein Vortrag eher ein Arbeitsbericht als die Fassung abgeschlossener wissenschaftlicher Ergebnisse ist. Bei dem heutigen Stand der Arbeit können wir die Problemstellung nur skizzieren. Die endgültige Lösung der aufgeworfenen Fragen wird erst die weitere Forschung bringen, bei der das letzte Wort die ungarischen Historiker haben werden.

Schon seit mehreren Jahrzehnten erweist sich die Erforschung der ungarischen mittelalterlichen Chroniken im Grunde genommen als ein abgeschlossenes Terrain. Scheinbar zu Recht, denn die Auswertung des zur Verfügung stehenden Quellenmaterials ist zum Abschluss gekommen. Weiterer Fortschritt zeigt sich nur in der Klärung ganz vereinzelter Teilprobleme. Eine radikale Wendung, die endgültige Lösung der alten, noch offenstehenden Probleme und eine neue Ausweitung des Problemkreises können wir nur von der Entdeckung neuer Quellen erwarten.

Die Erforschung der aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert stammenden ungarischen Chroniken hat bereits klar gezeigt, dass wir diese Werke nicht als die Anfänge der mittelalterlichen ungarischen Chronikliteratur betrachten können. Aus der vergleichenden Analyse der einzelnen Werke geht deutlich hervor, dass deren Verfasser zu ihrer Arbeit auch einige aus dem 11. und 12. Jahrhundert stammende, aber leider verlorengegangene Quellen benutzt haben müssen. Nach dem heutigen Stand der Forschung kann man drei solcher verlorengegangener Werke annehmen, die in den späteren Chroniken weiterleben, wenn auch jede Stufe der Rekonstruktion von einer Reihe von Problemen begleitet ist.

Sehr wahrscheinlich ist es, dass alle diese Probleme nur im Falle des Auffindens weiterer mittelalterlicher Quellen einen bedeutenden Schritt ihrer Lösung näher kommen würden. Dazu besteht jedoch geringe Hoffnung. So können wir kaum mit der Entdeckung neuer umfangreicher Denkmäler rechnen. Dagegen können wir einen Fortschritt von der gründlichen Erforschung der zeitgenössischen bzw. späteren Literatur der Nachbarländer erwarten.

In meinem Vortrag möchte ich gerade von einer in dieser Hinsicht interessanten Quelle, der 'Tārīḥ-i Ungurus' berichten, die in osmanisch-türkischer Sprache verfasst ist.

Zuerst sei es mir erlaubt zu erwähnen, dass die Entdeckung dieser Chronik aus dem 16. Jahrhundert dem berühmten ungarischen Orientalisten, Á. Vámbéry zu verdanken ist. Auf seiner Konstantinopler Reise in den 50er Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts kaufte er diese Handschrift. In der Orientalischen Sammlung der Bibliothek der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften wird diese Handschrift als Geschenk von ihm aufbewahrt. Á. Vámbéry begnügte sich nicht damit, die Handschrift zu erwerben und nach Ungarn zu bringen. In einem kurzen Artikel lenkte er die Aufmerksamkeit der ungarischen Gelehrten auf diese bedeutende Quelle. Er selbst aber entschloss sich nicht, sie zu übersetzen und wissenschaftlich zu bearbeiten. Ebenso verfuhr J. Budenz, der einige Jahre später in seiner Arbeit die baldige Bearbeitung des Werkes als "eine dringende Aufgabe" bezeichnete. Diese Anregung blieb aber ohne Echo. Inzwischen sind mehr als hundert Jahre vergangen. Die Chronik-Diskussionen der vergangenen Jahrzehnte liessen diese Quelle ganz ausser Acht, die meiner Ansicht nach keine entscheidenden Angaben, jedoch nützliche Einzelheiten zur Erforschung der mittelalterlichen ungarischen Chroniken enthalten könnte. Unerwähnt blieb dieses Werk natürlich auch in den grösseren zusammenfassenden Darstellungen der ungarischen Literaturgeschichte, was dann diese Chronik endgültig als "eine vergessene Quelle" erscheinen lässt.

Von dem Verfasser TERCÜMÂN MAHMÛD, d.h. Dolmetscher Mahmūd, wussten wir lange Zeit nur das, was in der Einleitung zu seinem Werk steht. Danach war es klar, dass er Latein und vielleicht auch andere Sprachen beherrschte. Der Beiname TERCÜMÂN schon erlaubt so zu folgern. Erst die neueren Untersuchungen von J. Matuz über die Pfortendolmetscher haben einen Fortschritt in der Klärung der Frage nach der Person gebracht. J. Matuz hat wohl ganz recht, wenn er versucht, die Person von TERCÜMÂN MAHMÛD mit einem Pfortendolmetscher deutscher Abstammung zu verbinden. Diese Identifikation lässt sich auch von der sprachlichen Seite her bestätigen. Obwohl TERCÜMÂN MAHMÛD — das vorliegende Werk beweist es — das Türkische ganz ausgezeichnet beherrschte, verraten einige Wendungen den Einfluss eines fremden Idioms, höchstwahrscheinlich der deutschen Sprache.

Gestatten Sie mir nun, einen kurzen Überblick über die Entstehung des Werkes zu geben, die in die Zeit nach der Schlacht von Mohács (1526) fällt.

In diesen Jahren machte sich der erwähnte TERCÜMÂN MAHMÛD an die Aufgabe, eine ausführliche ungarische Geschichte zu schreiben. Der Verfasser verhüllte sein Ziel keineswegs: er hoffte, dass ihm für dieses aktuelle Werk reichlicher Lohn zuteil würde. Wieweit seine Hoffnungen erfüllt wurden, wissen wir nicht. Wenn wir aber daran denken, dass diese Handschrift, die ein Unicum zu sein scheint, weder im Topkapı Sarayı noch in irgendwelchen anderen Istanbuler Handschriftensammlungen aufgetaucht ist, und dass Á. Vámbéry diese Handschrift im Grunde genommen mit grosser Leichtigkeit — vielleicht einfach von einem Buchhändler — erwerben konnte, müssen wir wohl bezweifeln, dass das Werk von TERCÜMÂN MAHMÛD jemals an den Hof Süleymāns des Prächtigen gelangt ist. Das im Hinblick auf die literarischen und sprachlichen Werte auf einem bescheidenen Niveau stehende Werk konnte der Kritik der Literaten des Hofes kaum

حَسْبُ نَاعِدُونَ • وَتَأْيِ نَاعِدُونَ • أَوَّلُ بِأَدْنَاءِ وَاجِبِ الْوَجْهِ • كَيْه
 عَالِمِ عَنَّا صِرَ سَوَادِ دَلَّةِ عَمَلِ قُلُوبِ • هَرَبِ نِ اِمْعَلُو ضَلَالًا فِي الْبَلَدِ
 مَطْهَرِ قُلُوبِ • وَدُرُودِ بِحَسَابِ اَوَّلِ مَرَّارِ كَامَةِ كَارِهِ
 هَرَبِ مَطْهَرِ بِرِ بِأَدْنَاءِ هَلْ زَبَرِ مَرَّارِ قُلُوبِ • كُلُّكُمْ
 رَأَيْ • وَكَلَامِ مَسْئُولِ عَنْ رَيْبِ كَرْدِ بَيْنِكَ مَقْهُومِ شَرِّ نَفْسِ اَنْتَ
 دَرْجِ الْمُنْدَرِ • عَالِي كُورِ حَنَاجِ مُتَعَالِ
 اَبْلَدِي مَطْهَرِي حَزَلِ وَجَمَالِ • اَهْلِ اَيْمَانِ اَبْدِ وَبِ كَيْفِ خَيْدِ
 كَفَرِ لَهُ كَيْفِيَّةِ اَنْدِ جَزَا • دَرْجِ اَيْمَانِ مَطْهَرِ
 لَيْمِ سَلَامِ سَمَرِ زِي غَايَتِ • وَصَلَوَاتِ كُلُّوِي عَطَرِ اَكْبَرِ فِي غَايَتِ

اَوَّلُ خَاتَمِ الرِّسَالَةِ • رَسُولُ اللَّهِ مُحَمَّدٌ مَدِينَةُ مَدِينَةٍ اَوْ زَيْنَهُ
 اَمْدِي وَاِيْثَارِ اَوَّلُو نَكْر • قَدُومِ رَسَالَتِهِ جِهَانِ اَنَارِ كَفَرُو
 ضَلَّ لَقِي • رَشِكْ وَاِيْثَارِ مَرْفُوعِ مَدْفُوعِ فَلْيَدِي • وَدَجِي اَل
 وَاَوْلَادِ وَاَحْبَابِ اَوْ زَيْنَهُ اَوَّلُو نَكْر • اَبْنِ اِسْلَامِ بِنِغْ شَرِ عِلْمِ
 كُوْنِ كَيْ ظَاهِرِ ظِلْمِ دُرْ • صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ اَجْمَعِينَ اَمَامِ
 بَرَكُوْنِ بَرِ سَادَتِكَ شَهْرِي • وَتَحْتَ خِلَافَتِكَ نَاجِدِ اَرِي
 سُلْطَانِ سَلْطَانِ زَمَانِ • هَاجِرِ دُرْ دَوْرَانِ
 شَهْرِي بِرِصَّةِ رُوحِي زَمَانِ • بَادِ شَاهِي كُفْرُو دُنْيَا وَدِينِ
 فَوْزِ عَدْلِي وَرَنْ دُنْيَا وَفَرْ • كَفَرِ ظُلْمَتِكَ قِيَامِ فَجِي اَشْرِ
 اَمَلِ كَفَرِ عَالَمِي طَارِ اَبْلِي • دُونِ نِيكَ بَدِي نَارِ اَبْلِي
 اَبْلِي عَدَالَتِهِ دُونِ كُوْنِ عَزَا • بِنَلِيهِ كَافُوْرَنْ دُرْ لَوْحِ
 كَدَرِ اَوَّلِ شَاهِي صُوْرَتِكَ • دَكْلَهْ سُوْرُوِيْ بَدِي مَعْنِي
 شَهْرِي اَرِي مَعْنِ اَقْلَمِ جِهَانِ

standgehalten haben, was auch das Schicksal dieses Werkes zu bestätigen scheint.

Wie der Verfasser schreibt, machte er sich in Székesfehérvár an die Verwirklichung seines Vorhabens. Es fiel ihm dort ein in lateinischer Sprache geschriebenes Werk in die Hände, welches ausführlich die Geschichte der Ungarn von den Anfängen bis zur Schlacht von Mohács beschrieb. TERCÜMÂN MAHMÛD — so sagt er — unternahm es, dieses Buch zu übersetzen, um es Süleymân dem Prächtigen zu überreichen. Die 'Târîh-i Ungurus' verrät aber den Autor, denn es zeigt deutlich, dass keineswegs von einer blossen Übersetzung des lateinischen Textes die Rede sein kann. Wir haben es hier mit einer literarischen Aufarbeitung des historischen Stoffes zu tun. Es ist dabei nicht auszuschliessen, dass eine historische Kompilation vor uns liegt, in der TERCÜMÂN MAHMÛD mehrere Quellen vereinigt hat. Es würde den Quellenwert sogar noch erhöhen, wenn es möglich wäre, die Spuren mehrerer Chroniken nachzuweisen und vielleicht aus den verlorengegangenen Chroniken stammende Einzelheiten zu rekonstruieren.

In diesem Rahmen muss leider darauf verzichtet werden, auf den Inhalt des Werkes selbst einzugehen. Die von mir geplante Edition des Werkes, die die Publikation des Textes in Transkription sowie des Originals und einer Übersetzung vorsieht, befindet sich in ihrer letzten Phase. Daher hoffe ich, dass bald jeder Interessierte die Gelegenheit haben wird, das Werk für seine speziellen Fragestellungen ausführlich zu analysieren. Es ist kaum zu bezweifeln, dass die Auswertung dieser interessanten türkischen Quelle, bei der — das möchte ich noch einmal betonen — die Erforscher der Chroniken des ungarischen Mittelalters die entscheidende Analyse vornehmen müssen, eine Erweiterung unserer bisherigen Erkenntnisse mit sich bringen wird.

Ich möchte kurz darauf hinweisen, dass der Text der 'Târîh-i Ungurus' auch als eine wertvolle Quelle zur osmanisch-türkischen Sprachgeschichte zu betrachten ist. Meine Edition sieht daher selbstverständlich vor, das Werk auch als türkisches Sprachdenkmal zu präsentieren.

Meine Editionsarbeit verfolgt diese zweifache Zielstellung in der Hoffnung, dass sie für beide Wissensbereiche nützliche Angaben und Fakten liefern wird. Zum Schluss möchte ich der Bibliothek der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften danken, die mir diese Handschrift für die geschilderten Untersuchungs- und Veröffentlichungszwecke zur Verfügung gestellt hat.

A. HORVÁTH

TURKISH MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ORIENTAL COLLECTION OF THE LIBRARY OF THE HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

There are 596 Turkish manuscripts totaling 638 volumes in the possession of the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The present collection of Turkish manuscripts began to be formed a century and a quarter ago. In building up the collection however, the period between the 1880's and the First World War was the most successful, for it was then that the Library obtained the majority, more than three quarters, of its Turkish manuscripts through purchases and bequests rich both in volume and in value.

Mention of a Turkish manuscript in connection with the Academy Library was made first in 1850. It was then that János REPICKY presented at the Academy a manuscript from the Library entitled 'The Story of Pasha Cāfer.' [1] Following his lecture, the Academy turned its attention to Turkish chronicles containing source-material relevant to Hungary's history and made it a deliberate act of policy to unearth these chronicles and to study closely those sections of importance to Hungary. [2]

Ten years later, in 1860, the Library again obtained a chronicle called 'Tārīḥ-i Ungurus.' This manuscript had been found by Ármin VÁMBÉRY in Istanbul. When sending it home to the Academy, he remarked in the covering letter: "I venture to assume it has no match in Europe." [3]

Reviewing 'Tārīḥ-i Ungurus', József BUDENZ discussing the importance of the manuscript wrote [4]: "Mr. VÁMBÉRY has enriched the Library of the Hungarian Academy with a literary record undoubtedly interesting and valuable not only for the Hungarian historian but also for the Hungarian linguist, by sending us the manuscript of... 'Tārīḥ-i Üngürûsz', a chronicle peerless of its kind." [5]

In the last three decades of the nineteenth century there were occasional reports — sometimes without mention of the work's title — of the acquisition of Turkish manuscripts by the Academy Library. For instance, we read in the news-column of the 1871 issue of the periodical 'Akadémiai Értesítő' (Academy Bulletins) that the Secretary-General had received a parcel without name or covering letter "which contained among other things a Turkish manuscript in octavo, with gilded letters, and five small pieces of paper with Turkish writing on them." [6]

Two thirds — 438 volumes — of the Turkish manuscripts in the Oriental Collection came into the possession of the Library in 1886, when the bequest of Dániel SZILÁGYI, who had died in Istanbul was acquired by the Academy.

Dániel SZILÁGYI had emigrated to Turkey after the war of independence had been defeated in 1849. In Istanbul, as a result of some years of hard work and learning, he succeeded in mastering the Turkish language to a very high degree. Relying upon the knowledge he had acquired and spurred by his inclination, he made a detailed study of Turkish literature and historical works. He was drawn especially toward seeking out old manuscripts and rare items which, after coming into possession of a part of a book-collection [7], he himself eagerly collected.

Dániel SZILÁGYI's bookshop and collection of manuscript rarities in Istanbul was known to Hungarian orientalists like Ármin VÁMBÉRY and Ignác KÚNOS. They went there several times and were aware of the invaluable nature of his collection. Ignác KÚNOS speaks of the book-dealer of Timoni Street in Istanbul in these terms: "Whoever happened to have a codex to sell called on him first of all, and if a European scholar was searching for some rare manuscript he turned first to the "tercüman" on Timoni Street. He was known to European as well as Turkish scholars and his rich book-store was frequented by not one "hodja" and "ulema" anxious to find sources for their scholarly work... The deceased collector had an ideal goal in view and with profound knowledge and wise purposefulness sought out and examined those manuscripts which in Altai comparative linguistics and in Hungarian historiography would serve as source-material some time in the future. With an almost devout zeal he went in search of mainly Turkish linguistic records.[8]

Dániel SZILÁGYI's collecting passion was likewise explained by Ármin VÁMBÉRY: "... as to the issue of Hungarian linguistics, he favoured the idea of predominant Turkish influence ... his collecting aspirations also developed in this direction ... of Turkish literary products he focused his attention mostly on old Turkish linguistic records." [9]

After the death of Dániel SZILÁGYI, Ármin VÁMBÉRY proposed as a matter of urgency that the Academy buy the bequest from his heirs. He reminded the Academy that Dániel SZILÁGYI had "intended this collection for our domestic institution, and this purpose ... he had stated during his life." [10]

VÁMBÉRY made the following appeal to the Secretary-General of the Academy early in 1886 [11]: "This library really does contain a rare and precious treasure which it would be a great pity for our Academy not to buy and to allow to fall into alien hands." Of the price of the collection fixed by an official valuer at 2591 Ft 80 crowns, he remarked: "... the valuation ... was put at a low rather than high price ... This applies principally to the manuscripts, from the incomplete list of which we may infer that neither the Moslem scholar who was sent to appraise them nor the representative of the consulate was duly versed as regards the intrinsic value of these works."

In his report delivered at the Academy's general assembly in October, 1886, VÁMBÉRY spoke in a similar key when he emphasized the slightness of the financial sacrifice to be made in exchange for the collection. It was at this general

assembly that a resolution was adopted in favour of the purchase of Dániel SZILÁGYI's bequest, [12] which consequently arrived from Istanbul in the same year. [13]

We can form an idea of the composition of the collection from the report submitted to the Academy by Ignác KÚNOS in 1891, in compliance with his commission to arrange and register the SZILÁGYI-bequest. According to his report, which refers to the bequest as the "Collectio Szilágyiana", the richest part — almost half — of the collection is made up of codices of literary value. One third consists of manuscripts related to history. There are 38 grammar-books or dictionaries and 64 works of mixed contents in the collection. [14]

Concurrently with the processing and cataloging of Dániel SZILÁGYI's bequest, other, less important opportunities arose to enrich the stock of Turkish manuscript materials. Thus in February, 1891, the Library bought a "list of miscellanea" in Turkish, and 3 Turkish documents. [15] In the same year 3 Turkish manuscripts arrived from Krassó-Szörény County which, according to the attached note, "were yielded from a citizen of Zsittin who had inherited them from his forbears." [16] In 1894 it was reported from Constantinople that the president of the Austrian-Hungarian Chamber of Commerce in Turkey had donated to the Academy a large trunk full of Arabic, Persian and Turkish books and manuscripts. [17]

In 1908, the Library obtained a manuscript-material small in volume but highly valuable from the point of view of the Central-Asian Turkish language. This was the Academy purchase of József THÚRY's bequest, the Chagatay-Osmanli and Chagatay-Persian dictionaries 'Abuşka lüğatı' (O. 321, O. 361) 'Lüğat-i çağatay' (O. 340), and 'Behcet-ül-lüğat' (O. 325) together with other works. The bequest consisted in all of 8 works in 22 volumes. [18]

In 1914 43 valuable manuscripts were donated to the Library by Rusztem VÁMBÉRY from his father, Ármin VÁMBÉRY's bequest. This material was registered in December, 1914, according to the register-book of the Department of Manuscripts. [19] More than one third of the 43 manuscripts are Central-Asian Turkish literary records or dictionaries. Among them are to be found, for instance, the famous treatise of NEVĀ'Î 'Muhâkemet-ül-lüğateyn,' an extract from 'Seng-lâh' 'Hulâşa-yi Abbâsi' (O. 380), as well as 'Lüğat-i çağatay' (O. 386).

As VÁMBÉRY indicated in his review of the manuscripts and in his memories, he had bought these manuscripts in Istanbul or found them on his travels in Central Asia. He made a note on the manuscript containing Chagatay poems marked O. 373: "This manuscript I took out of the bootleg of a Turkoman robber."

In more recent times purchasing opportunities have become scarce, as compared to the turn of the century, when the Academy Library could obtain Turkish manuscripts through donation or purchase. Thus it was an important event when, in negotiations started in 1950 and conducted through the mediation of the National Centre of Libraries, the newly-established division of the Academy Library, the Oriental Collection, obtained 43 Turkish manuscripts together

with the oriental material formerly in the possession of the Kiskunhalas Áron Szilády State College. [20]

Size was the guiding principle in the arrangement of Turkish manuscripts; their numbering is accordingly arranged in order of octavo, quarto, and folio. For registration and orientation there is a handwritten catalog in Hungarian showing numerical order, and a hand-written card-catalog of titles in alphabetical order, which is incomplete in several respects. A catalog showing thematic distribution within the collection has not yet been prepared.

In what follows we shall give a short outline of the subject-matter of some of the manuscripts to be found in the collection. We shall also enumerate — of course with no attempt at completeness, — a representative sample of works which deserve the turcologists' attention in order thus to exemplify the composition and characteristic of the Turkish manuscripts in the Academy's possession.

The main body of Turkish manuscripts is made up of literary works. Two thirds of the 178 literary works are narrative poetry, anthologies of poems, "divāns"; one third is prose.

The most interesting literary manuscripts are copies of a collection of tales, 'Ferec b'ad-eş-şidde', translated from Persian. There are two copies of variations on this work comprising 42 tales in the Oriental Collection: one dated 1451 (F. 71)[21] — probably the oldest copy of this work — and the other according to the watermark, dated around 1550 and the size of a folio. Both of them are vocalized. Beside these two copies there are 5 more undated manuscripts called 'Ferec b'ad-eş-şidde' in the collection.

Of 'Cāmāsb-nāme', a work written by MŪSĀ 'ABDĪ around 1429, there is one vocalized copy from 1489 (O. 70), one from 1558 (O. 86), and one undated copy (Q. 67) in the collection.

Six Turkish variations of NIZĀMĪ's 'Iskender-nāme', rewritten by AḤMEDĪ, can be found in the collection one of which was vocalized and copied in 1491; another is undated but beautifully wrought and illuminated with miniatures (O. 65, O. 83, O. 249, O. 267, O. 320/1-6., Q. 9.)

The Turkish variation of 'İlūsrev ü Şīrīn', another work of NIZĀMĪ by ŞEYḤĪ MEVLĀNĀ YŪSUF has seven facsimiles in the collection. The dated copies are from 1493 (O. 167), from 1523 (O. 191), and from 1568 (F. 22.) A copy of 'Ferhād ile Şīrīn', another work by Şeyḥī, dates from the first half of the 16th century (1534) (O. 139).

Our collection owns six copies of the Turkish variations of the various works of FARĪDUDDĪN 'AṬṬĀR who lived in Nishapur in the 13th century. The manuscript entitled 'Ma'kūmāt ilāhī', dates from 1472 (O. 88); a vocalized copy of 'Tezkiret-ül-evliyā', a Turkish variation of his notable work narrating the lives of saints and sūfis dates back to 1340/1341, (this is thus the oldest copy of this work ever to have been found) (F. 33). [22]

A vocalized duplicate of the Turkish variation of 'Yūsuf ve Züleyhā' translated by KEMĀL PAŞA-ZĀDE originates from 1534, the year of the author's death (Q. 25.).



Dániel Szilágyi (1830-1885)

We may mention further the duplicate of NIYĀZĪ MIŞRĪ's 'Dīvān,' which dates from 1694, the year of the poet's death (O.48), and YŪSUF NĀBĪ's mesnevī, 'Ḥayriyye-nāme,' dated 1699/1700 (O.18). [23] This copy was made in NĀBĪ's lifetime but there are four more copies of 'Ḥayriyye-nāme' from 1714 (O.52), from 1715 (O.163), from 1719 (O.47) and from 1734 (O.96) respectively.

Closely connected with literary works are works of literary history, among which LATĪFĪ's work, 'Tezkiret-üş-şuarā,' on poets living between the middle of the fifteenth and the middle of the sixteenth century is preserved in several copies. It has 7 duplicates (O.47, O.91, O.107, O.181, O.195, O.203, O.319), one of which was made in LATĪFĪ's lifetime in 1560 (O.91). Another work of literary history, also entitled 'Tezkiret-üş-şuarā,' written by 'AHDĪ BIN ŞEMSĪ BAĞDĀDĪ, dates from 1565/66, one year after the appearance of the original (O.124). [24]

Six manuscripts in the collection discuss linguistic questions the grammar of Turkish and that of other languages like Persian. There are also 25 dictionaries, including the 15-volume manuscript material of IBRĀHIM ŞINĀSĪ — who was a close friend of Dániel SZILÁGYI — prepared for a large Turkish dictionary (O.1/1-15), [25] as well as Arabic-Turkish, Persian-Turkish dictionaries and Chagatay dictionaries mentioned above in connection with the bequests of József THURY and Ármin VÁMBÉRY.

Medieval historiography is represented by 73 famous and not so well-known chronicles, including notable works like SA'D-ÜD-DĪN's 'Tāc-üt-tevārīḥ' (F.23), IBRĀHIM PEÇEVĪ's 'Tārīḥ' (O.217, O.355), three copies of the chronicle of CELĀLZĀDE MUŞTĀFA ÇELEBİ also known as KOCA NIŞANCI (O.118, O.219, O.232) and 'Tārīḥ' written by RAMAZĀN-ZĀDE MEḤMED ÇELEBİ also known as KÜÇÜK NIŞANCI; one of the four copies of this work, dated 1578, is regarded as one of the oldest in existence (O.94). [26]

In addition to 'Tārīḥ-i Ungurus' which deals with the history of Hungary there are several chronicles of relevance not only to Hungarian history but also concerned entirely with events taking place during the Turkish occupation. These include 'Tārīḥ-i sefer-i Ungurus' by TEZKERECİ CĀFER ÇELEBİ (O.90), and a chronicle relating the deeds of Pasha TIRYĀKĪ ḤASĀN, defender of Kanizsa when it was besieged by the Austrian imperial army in 1601, entitled 'Risāle-yi dīvān effendisī Baytār ve Ġāzī Ḥasān paşa' (O.216). The manuscript entitled 'Vaḳ'a-nāme-yi tārīḥ-i Cāfer paşa' describes the battles fought in the area of Temesvár between the years of 1687 and 1697 (F.60). Its author gives an eye-witness report of these events. The manuscript dated 1721 is likely to be the original work [27], which also has a highly decorated, finely wrought replica in the collection (nr.O.205).

A major part of the collection of Turkish manuscripts comprises samples and collections of letters. These manuscripts known as inşā' and münşeāt, provide information on the history of diplomacy and on private relations as far as collections of letters written with a concrete purpose can possibly do so. At the same time they are also of interest to literary history even though they are penned in a distinctive style which must have been modelled on the letters of important poets. [28] One collection of particular interest is that which contains the letters of

Turkish sultans sent to English, Russian and other European and Asian monarchs (nr.O.35), Another volume, called simply 'Kitāb-i inṣā', from the end of the 17th century, contains the copies of several letters — mostly Persian — addressed to the Turkish sultans (nr.Q.48). Also of primary importance is the 'Inṣā' of MEHMET OKÇI-ZADE appointed re's-ül-küttab in 1595 and later nişancı who by virtue of his post possessed copies of letters written in the name of the sultan and the grand vizier (O.312), and the collection of letters 'Münşeāt-i KĀNĪ' which is made up of letters written by KĀNĪ, secretary of the janissary — agha then that of the Wallachian vaivode in the 18th century (O.378). [29]

In connection with the Turkish manuscripts of the Oriental Collection, each piece of which represents something of high spiritual value and in which, in addition to those mentioned above there are still manuscripts which have to be studied and recorded a crucial task remains to be done. It is a point which was raised at the Academy's session so far back as 1886 and was expressed in this manner: "The Academy must have the best possible catalog of the Turkish manuscripts acquired and of those originally in our possession. ... so that scholars abroad may be aware of these literary treasures, and even make good use of them." [30]

Notes

1. Small sectional meeting dec. 7. 1850 (For the Section of Historical Science.): Akad. Ért. 10(1850) pp. 305-317.
2. The small sectional meetings of the Section of Historical Science of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Oct 6 and Dec 20, 1851) discussed the tasks related to the "turcica"s: Akad. Ért. 11(1851) pp. 281-282, 402.
3. 'Tarikhi Engerusz azaz Magyarország története czimü török kézirat ismertetése VÁMBÉRI Ármintól' [The Turkish manuscript entitled 'Tarikhi Engurusz', i.e. The History of Hungary, reviewed by Ármin VÁMBÉRI]: Akad. Ért. 1(1860) pp. 360-362.
4. 'Tārīkh-i Ūngürūs azaz Magyarország krónikája czimü török kézirat ismertetése BUDENZ Józseftől' [The Turkish manuscript entitled 'Tārīkh-i Ūngürūs', i.e. The Chronicle of Hungary, reviewed by József BUDENZ]: Akad. Ért. 2(1861) pp. 261-316.
5. After Ármin VÁMBÉRY and József BUDENZ, György HAZAI has also dealt with the manuscript and published an essay on it: 'Notes sur le "Tārīh-i Ungurus" de Terdzümān Maḥmūd': Acta Orient. Hung. 13(1961) pp. 71-84.
6. Akad. Ért. 5(1871) pp. 227.
7. In his report on Dániel SZILÁGYI's bequest, Ármin VÁMBÉRY refers to the "highly interesting collection "of the late Monsieur Cayol" a part of which had come into the possession of Dániel SZILÁGYI. 32nd Academy Session, General session, Oct 25, 1886: Akad. Ért. 20(1886) p. 203.
8. 'Collectio Szilágyiana' (KÚNOS Ignác jelentése a Szilágyi-féle török kéziratgyűjteményről) [The report of Ignác KÚNOS on the Turkish manuscript-collection in the possession of SZILÁGYI]: Akad. Ért. 3(1892) pp. 20-21.
9. Ármin VÁMBÉRY's report delivered at the 32nd Academy Session: Akad. Ért. 20(1886) p. 203.
10. *ibid.* pp. 206-207.
11. Ármin VÁMBÉRY's letter dated February 7, 1886, in the Department of Manuscripts of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, marked RAL 110/1886.
12. 32nd Academy Session, General session, Oct 25, 1886: Akad. Ért. 20(1886) p. 207.

13. 'A Könyvtári Bizottság jelentése' [The report of the Library Committee]: Akad. Ért. 20(1886) pp. 57.
14. *ibid.* pp. 20-27.
15. Kézirattári szaporodások 1870-től fogva. [Increase of items in the Department of Manuscripts from 1870 onwards.] Dept. of Manuscripts, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. K. 888.
16. Akad. Ért. 2(1891) pp. 60.
17. The book-donation of Ármin BACK, president of the Chamber of Commerce in Constantinople, the arrival of which was noted by Ármin VÁMBÉRY, was mentioned in the chief-librarian's report for 1895 — with no details whatever — as the "Bak-donation". 'Jegyzőkönyvi mellékletek. A főkönyvtárnok első jelentése' [Supplements to minutes, 1st report of the Chief-Librarian]: Akad. Ért. (1895) p. 707.
18. Kézirattári szaporodások 1870-től fogva. [Increase of items in the Dept. of Manuscripts from 1870 onwards.] In notes for March, 1908. The Chagatay dictionaries which formed part of the bequest were reviewed by József THURY in his lecture at the Academy, on February 3, 1903'. A "Behdset-ül-lugat" cz. csagatáj szótár' [The Chagatay Dictionary entitled "Behdset-ül-lugat"]]: Akad. Ért. 14(1903) pp. 139-143.
19. Dept. of Manuscripts, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Without mark.
20. The oriental material of the Szilády Áron College was discussed by László RÁSONYI, the then head of the Oriental Collection, who noted in his report that the major part of the Turkish books were from Dániel SZILÁGYI's library. Archives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. 413/1950.
21. The manuscript belonging to Ármin VÁMBÉRY's bequest was reviewed by VÁMBÉRY: 'Alt-Osmanische Sprachstudien'. Leiden 1901.
22. The latest review of the manuscript is in László RÁSONYI's essay entitled 'Feridüddin Attar Tezkeret üil-evliyasının Budapeşte yazması': 'XI. Türk Dil Kurultayı. Bilimsel bildiriler'. 1966. Ankara 1967. pp. 83-86.
23. This date conflicts with that given by the 'Islam Ansiklopedisi', according to which NĀBĪ's work was written in 1701. 9.cilt. Istanbul 1960. p. 5.
24. Charles RIEU, Catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the British Museum. London 1888. 76.a.
25. We read in the report of Ignác KÚNOS that Dániel SZILÁGYI was ŞİNĀSĪ's "friend of youth", and it was he who pointed out what risks Dániel SZILÁGYI had run when acquiring this manuscript as ŞİNĀSĪ had had most of his manuscripts confiscated on account of his political views. *ibid.* p. 22.
26. There is an older manuscript dated 981/1573 in the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi in Istanbul, No. 459. 'Istanbul kütüphaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları I. Türkce tarih yazmaları.' 2.fasik:ıl. p. 211.
27. János REPICKY adduced proofs to support this hypothesis. Small sectional meeting. Dec 7. 1850: Akad. Ért. 10(1850) pp. 305-317.
28. See the definition inşā' literature in the 'Encyclopaedia of Islam' by H.R.Roemer. Leiden-London 1971. III.v. pp. 1241-1244.
29. Review of EBU BEKR KĀNĪ: 'Catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the British Museum'. London 1888. 102. a-b.
30. Ármin VÁMBÉRY raised the question of a foreign-language catalog at the 32nd general session of the Academy, Oct 25, 1886: Akad. Ért. 20(1886) p. 207.

T. IVÁNYI

ON THE LINGUISTIC METHODS OF I. GOLDZIER

The object of this paper is to give a brief account of how Ignáce GOLDZIER approached linguistic data and what methods he applied in language analysis, the study of which may be of interest not only to the historian but to present-day linguists and philologists as well.

GOLDZIER did not expound his scientific methods and conception explicitly in many places; this he left to his works. Nevertheless in 1905 when he spoke about the past three decades of Islamic research in Europe at the St. Louis Congress, he formulated his views: "... aber wir wissen jetzt nicht nur quantitativ mehr, und der Rahmen unserer Kenntnisse ist nicht nur mit reicheren Inhalt ausgefüllt, sondern wir wissen es anders als unsere Vorgänger; das heisst, wir betrachten es unter anderen Gesichtspunkten und studieren es nach anderen Methoden." [1] Of the new methods he refers to he considered to be the most important the historical-critical method, upon which he based his own research. He described the change in the attitude of European scholars as follows (with reference to Hadrian Reland who in 1704 wrote the first comprehensive manual on Islam in Europe): "... er werde den Gegenstand seiner Erörterungen darlegen *"uti docetur in templis et scholis Mohammedicis"*, d. h. "wie er gelehrt wird in den mohammedanischen Gotteshäusern und Schulen". Wir modifizieren, oder besser gesagt, wir bereichern diesen Grundsatz und stellen den Islam dar 'wie er sich in seiner Entwicklung und seiner lebendigen Gestaltung zeigt, wie er wirksam ist' in der Gesellschaft und in der Geschichte." (the italics are mine). [2]

As for the methods he applied in processing linguistic data, they were, naturally, never explicitly expounded, but his works testify that in several points surpassed, in his practice, the manifested linguistic theses of his age and his methods of working with language material would meet even the requirements of today. To avoid being misunderstood I hasten to point out that in this respect he did not stand alone among the outstanding contemporary philologists. I think it is rather unfortunate that when the history of linguistics in the 19th century is dealt with, the linguistic methods of those who while not primarily linguists applied linguistic methods successfully in their research, are often neglected.

GOLDZIER's methods could be summed up in the following: a.) systematic semantics or lexicology on synchronic levels, b.) on the basis of distributional analysis, c.) in order to reconstruct the historical values of a given set of linguistic data. GOLDZIER however is not primarily concerned with 'establishing' semantic-lexicological relations; his lexical studies served to further his cultural-historical research. Thus he was not engaged in elaborating the historical semantics of the Arabic language, so by "semantic system" we only mean the relevant subsystems.

His methods of linguistic analysis can be best seen in his lengthy and essentially still valid studies on religious and literary history, first of all the volumes of *Muhammedanische Studien* and *Abhandlungen zur arabische Philologie*, and not, as one would expect, in his papers directly devoted to linguistic questions. In this light I have studied his 'Über die Vorgeschichte der *Hiğā*-Poesie' [3] and I shall present here a few examples to demonstrate the above statements.

GOLDZIER's linguistic method, in a technical sense, was based on strictly applied distributional analysis, which is also the corner-stone of twentieth century linguistics, and which seems the most unchallengeable of all linguistic methods, independent of linguistic schools or trends. With GOLDZIER it means the examination of both the possible semantic environments and of words and meanings which occur in similar environments ('parallel places' in GOLDZIER's terms). Let us see how this method works in analysing the term qāfiya. The traditionally accepted meaning of the word is "rhyme, rhyme-syllable or rhyme-foot", and it was used in the sense of verse only much later through the prevalence of the *pars pro toto* principle. [4] GOLDZIER collected a large number of instances in which the term qāfiya occurs and proved that they originated from very early times, and thus they chronologically precede the appearance of qāfiya meaning "rhyme". [5] Comparing the direct contextual environments he found that the substitution of qāfiya with the meaning of "rhyme" resulted in a nonsensical interpretation whereas the meaning of "poem" fitted in to the context. E.g. when ^CAmr Dū'l-Kalb, beleaguered by the Fahmites, told those who threatened him: "Lasst mich nur noch so lang am Leben, bis ich fünfzig Qawāfi gesprochen habe, die ihr dann in meinem Namen weiter überliefern möget." [6] he cannot have meant "rhymes", or "rhyme-syllables" by the term qāfiya. Also when the poet threatens his adversary saying "dass er ihm mit feindlicher Rede und mit ausgesuchten Qāfiya's (qawāfin ^Cayn) entgegentreten werde", [7] he cannot possibly have meant the last syllables of verses but rather verses in their entirety or the whole poems.

After the establishment of the distribution (i.e., possible environments) of qāfiya, GOLDZIER turns his attention to the problem of sorting out other words or expressions that can occur in similar surroundings as qāfiya. The meaning of these parallel expressions according to GOLDZIER's method should be understood beyond doubt, and they should be found in texts, dating from approximately the same period so they can help to define the exact meaning of qāfiya. Here is an example for the application of the principle of 'parallel places': (huwa) kanz al-qawāfi wa-madīnatuhā, "(he is) the treasure of qawāfi and their town" — the reference is to the heathen poet, Ṭarafa. [8] The meaning "verse,

poem" of qāfiya (pl. qawāfi) here is borne out by parallel places, like innī la-madīnat aš-ši r minhā yaḥruḡu wa-ilayhā ya^cūdu, "I am the town of the poem (poetry), it (the poem) originates from and returns to it (the town)". [9]

GOLDZIER's method is, owing to the nature of his material, basically that of the historian. So carrying on with the analysis of qāfiya he pointed out that in another period in the history of this word it did not simply mean any kind of poem but a special kind of mocking-poem capable of spreading havoc among one's enemies. On this third synchronic level (the first level being the meaning, "rhyme", the second the meaning of "verse, poem in general", where the ordinal numbers, first, second, refer to the order of research and not to a chronological sequence) he derived the additional meaning by the same sort of analysis: he found examples where qāfiya cannot but mean "a poem bringing about devastation": e.g.

sāqa šī^c rī lahum qāfiyatan * wa- alayhim šara šī^c rī damdama

"meine Dichtung treibt zu ihnen einen Spottspruch, und mein Gedicht wird ihnen zur Vernichtung". [10] At the same time, through his method of discounting parallel places, he pointed out that the poems which bring about devastation are mocking-poems. The possible environments (distribution) of qāfiya range over adjectives like: mašhūra ("spread"), šārīda ("rambling"), etc., and comparisons as "dangerous weapon", "casting-stone", "arrow", "projectile weapon", etc. These all were shown by GOLDZIER to be the characteristic similes of curses and mocking-poems.

This takes us to another important aspect of his methods, i.e. he always conducted the diachronic examination within the framework of systems (or strictly speaking, subsystems) of meanings. By matching the third meaning of qāfiya to a system of semantic relationships of words which fall under the scope of mocking and curse poetry, and which, he had proved earlier, all referred to the so called 'pagan times', he in fact defined the time of this third (but chronologically earliest) meaning as well.

His study on 'Hiḡā'-Poesie' comprises in fact the presentation of the historic changes in meaning undergone by six words and analysed in the same way as qāfiya, and all are traced back to pre-islamic periods. At the same time GOLDZIER explores — and this is his real intention — the conceptual and cultural background to these linguistic signs.

Neither in a traditional Arabic nor in the European interpretation do these six words form any close lexical or semantical group; they cannot thus be related to each other in any meaningful way. The traditional interpretation developed later in mature Islam when the cultural and language remains of the pre-islamic age were still on hand but in a distorted form and were not really known and understood. [11] The conceptual system of the age had fallen apart and became atomistic. GOLDZIER, however, succeeded in restoring the original system and the original meaning of its elements, on the basis of scattered data, but he did this through the only possible way, which was through language — first on linguistic level, then on the cultural level as well.

Let us look at the traditional interpretation of these six words, six important terms in *hiġā'*-poetry:

- šaytān: or Iblīs by his other name, the vicious Satan, borrowed from Christian-Jewish religious sources who inspires the poet in his artistic activity.
 šā'ir: artist, poet; the frequently occurring expression šaytān aš-šā'ir ("the Satan, Demon of the poet") being no more than a rhetorical cliché.
 hiġā': personal skirmish between poets, mocking-poems written against each other.
 saġ': simply the rhetorical embellishment and decoration of prosaic speech.
 raġaz: primitive and careless form of songs (as contrasted with qarīd, the refined and well proportioned poem).
 qāfiya: (Pl. qawāfi) rhyme, rhyme-word or rhyme-syllable, which later assumed the meaning of "line of verse" and "poem" too, on the basis of the figure of *pars pro toto*.

These explanations are characterised, besides everything that has been mentioned above, by an ahistoric attitude and by a total disregard of changes in the meaning of words, the result of which is that meanings known and used many centuries later were projected back to earlier times.

Let us see now how GOLDZIER interpreted the six above words:

- šaytān: = ġinn, "spiritus familiaris" in heathen times, one who is a companion of the poet, inspiring him in the sense that he enlightens his mind and provides him with information.
 šā'ir: one who knows things and possesses supernatural and magical knowledge — and because of his abilities is considered the oracle of his tribe in the pre-islamic age.
 hiġā': magic saying, curse, a weapon which is at least as effective as real arms.
 saġ': the characteristic form of magic sayings in earlier times, originally possibly not different from hiġā', being its synonym.
 raġaz: rhythmically formulated saġ', with the special meaning of "mocking-verse, curse", in earlier times it may have been the primary form of hiġā'.
 qāfiya: "abusive saying", in its original meaning, or more exactly "a poem wounding the skull", which later came to mean any form of poetry. It is only much later that by false analogy it began to mean "rhyme" or "rhyme-syllable".

If we compared the two lines of interpretations what is most striking not the difference between the individual meanings but the fact that GOLDZIER succeeded in building up a coherent set of meanings (a semantic subsystem) which could serve as the basis for the interpretation of an entire conceptual system and culture.

So far I have attempted to point out the importance of the exact linguistic methods, and the linguistic approach in GOLDZIER's research into the history

of religion and culture. As a final point I would like to put forward an example which, in contrast to what has been said above, will show that a linguistic analysis cannot work without a perfect understanding of the referential and cultural background, or rather that the two — i.e. an exact linguistic analysis and philological knowledge must go hand in hand.

GOLDZIHNER often corrected, mainly in his footnotes, the translation and MS readings of renowned European Arabists. If we look more closely at these corrections we realize that they do not mean that GOLDZIHNER was a more observant and attentive reader or that he knew Arabic better than his fellow scholars. These corrections are in general based on a better understanding of the historical reality that the given text referred to. Thus in his major study on ḥadīṭ [12] he translates the Arabic sentence akrahanā ʿalayhi haʾulāʾi-l-umarāʾu as follows: "these emirs forced people to write hadiths" (— i.e. to forge them) — the pious az-ZUHRĪ said about himself, acquiescing in being the tool of the irreligious Omayyad rulers. GOLDZIHNER mentions in a footnote [13] that this sentence is read and translated by SPRENGER incorrectly in the following way: akrahnā alayhi haʾulāʾiʾ-l-umarāʾa that is, "we induced also those chiefs (who are not mentioned) to disapprove of it". Thus whereas in GOLDZIHNER's interpretation ZUHRĪ admits his willingness to promote the interests of the dynasty by religious means and to invent traditions (ḥadīṭ) put in the mouth of the Prophet, SPRENGER makes ZUHRĪ say that he has never forged ḥadīṭ and on the contrary he has tried to persuade the Omayyad rulers not to allow the forging of the sacred traditions by others. But this latter explanation defies reality. GOLDZIHNER was led to the correct interpretation of the passage by his perfect knowledge of the age and of ḥadīṭ-literature in general. [14]

The conclusion that can be drawn from all this is that GOLDZIHNER followed implicitly a linguistic approach which we recognize as valid today in his philological works in that he rejects an atomistic, isolated examination of language, and argues that even historical linguistics needs systematic synchronic levels as its starting points. Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to say that the systematic linguistic methods he used in language analysis help in larger measure to explain why his works are of indisputed value even today, nearly a hundred years after their first appearance.

Notes

1. I. GOLDZIHNER, 'The progress of Islamic science in the last three decades': Congress of arts..., Univ. exp. St. Louis 1905. pp. 497-517; Also in German: 'Die Fortschritte der Islam-Wissenschaft in den letzten drei Jahrzehnten': Preuss. Jahrb. 121(1905) pp. 274-300.
2. I. GOLDZIHNER (1905), p. 275.
3. I. GOLDZIHNER, 'Über die Vorgeschichte der *Ḥiǧāʾ*-Poesie': Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie I, Leiden 1896, pp. 1-121.

4. Hiġā' -Poesie p. 83.
5. Hiġā' -Poesie p. 84-85.
6. Hiġā' -Poesie p. 84.
7. Hiġā' -Poesie p. 84-85.
8. Hiġā' -Poesie p. 85.
9. Hiġā' -Poesie p. 85-86.
10. Hiġā' -Poesie p. 87.
11. For a more detailed account see GOLDZIHHER, Hiġā' -Poesie p. 9, et al.
12. I. GOLDZIHHER, Muḥammedanische Studien II, Halle 1890, pp. 1-410, Über die Entwicklung des Ḥadīth; p. 38.
13. Muḥ. St., II, p. 38, fn. 4.
14. Naturally, this divergence between the interpretations could only be made possible by the peculiarity of Arabic writing, in which the written form of the two sentences, due to the unmarked short vowels, coincide. It is to be noted here that Goldziher's translation (but not his reading) is now held wrong and corrected by F. Sezgin in his Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, vol. 1, p. 74 and 281.

L. KÁKOSY

ZEUS - AMUN

In the centuries when Egyptian religion became more and more familiar to the Greeks, they discovered striking similarities between their own gods and those of the Egyptians. As Egyptian civilization was commonly accepted as older than any other, the opinion arose that Greek religion had its origins in the Nile-Valley and was later borrowed from there. One of the most avid advocates of this point of view was HERODOTUS. He eagerly searched for relationships between the gods of the two nations. His work yields the first evidence for the identification of Zeus with Amun [1], as well as of numerous other Greek gods with Egyptian ones.

At the beginning, this association was based on outward similarities and did not have any serious impact on the development of the two religions. Both Zeus and Amun were revered as the king of the gods, and both gave oracles. Each had a bird as his sacred animal: Amun, the goose; Zeus, the eagle. These characteristics were sufficient for them to be regarded as the same divinity with different names.

In the Hellenistic and Roman period, however, the syncretistic Graeco-Egyptian religion began to live its own peculiar, complex life. Along with this, the Zeus-Amun equation also gained more importance, as evidenced by authors who dealt with the Egyptian religion, like DIODORUS, or rather his sources. They began to yield an interesting picture of the ideas concerning the place of Zeus-Amun in a mixed pantheon. We learn, for instance, that there were two Zeus gods: one in heaven, the 'pneuma' of nature, and another called Ammon (=Amun), who was one of the primeval kings of Egypt.[2] A well attested ancient Egyptian aspect of Amun is reflected here, namely, that he was the god of wind and breath: "He is the breath which endures in everything." [3] Later, we will return to the question of his kingship.

The new mythology modified the traditional genealogy of the gods. The parents of Osiris, Geb and Nut, who were identified with Cronus and Rhea, were now replaced in one of the theological schools by Zeus and Hera, that is, by Amun and Mut.[4] According to DIODORUS this view was supported "by the majority" (Κατὰ ... τοὺς πλείστους), which indicates that this affiliation

was accepted by wide, influential circles of the priests. This motif can also be traced back to some extent to the late-Egyptian form of the cult of Osiris. From the beginning of the later period of the New Kingdom, Osiris became closely connected with Thebes, the holy city of Amun, which was named for Zeus, Diospolis.

Even in the inscriptions and pictures of Medinet Habu the growing influence of Osiris can be seen, and one can also observe in the Aethiopian Period his cult gaining prominence.[5] By the Ptolemaic Age, Osiris is one of the most important gods in Thebes. His prominence is reflected in theology: in the Opet-temple Amun stands as the 'ba'-soul of Osiris.[6] The rites enacted for Osiris in Thebes are recorded on a late hieratic papyrus.[7] On an inscription in the temple of Dendara Thebes is called the birthplace of Osiris.[8] This is important evidence for the acceptance of Theban theological views by the non-Theban clergy. In addition, PLUTARCH took for granted the Theban origin of this deity as is seen in the De Iside, where Osiris's birth is proclaimed by a voice heard from the temple of Zeus (Amun) in Thebes.[9] Under such circumstances it is easy to understand that Amun became the father of Osiris.

The great temple of Karnak is, however, regularly called Ammonieion in the papyri and ostraca [10], and not the temple of Zeus as in PLUTARCH and other authors. Thus, even though Zeus and Amun were closely associated in the local religion, the people of Thebes probably did not identify them as completely as did Greek authors living abroad.

As soon as the religious practices of Thebes became known, the Iliad began to be seen in a new light. The Homeric myth of the journeys of the gods from Olympus to Aethiopia[11] was interpreted under the Ptolemies as the yearly traversing of the Nile by Zeus (Amun) to the western side of Thebes.[12] "... For each year among the Egyptians the shrine of Zeus is carried across the river into Libya and then brought back some days later, as if the god were arriving from Aethiopia." (Transl. of C.H. OLDFATHER). This is an allusion to the Festival of the Valley which was a spectacular ceremony of the funerary cult at which the statue of Amun was ferried over from Karnak to be carried around the funerary temples and to make offerings to the dead kings. This ceremony was still alive under the Ptolemies.[13]

This Homeric interpretation is all the more interesting since one district of western Thebes, Deir el-Bahari and its surroundings was created under Hatshepsut as a small Punt in Egypt for Amun.[14] This was a miniature counterpart to the remote southern country which was a part of the enormous area called Aethiopia by the Greeks. The temple of the queen had been in ruins long before the Ptolemaic period began, but the memory of the Punt of Amun was recalled by the contemporary name for this part of Thebes, Memnoneia,[15] which name was a relic of Memnon, the legendary king of the Aethiopians slain in the Trojan war.

Amun was also the supreme god of the Napata-Meroe empire which figured as Aethiopia in the Greek sources.

In pharaonic Egypt the eagle was not a sacred animal [16]; in Greek sources, however, mention is made of its cult in Thebes. [17] This cult was a manifest Greek element in Egypt and was due to the Zeus-Amun identification. For this reason it never became popular among the native people. But as the eagle was an emblem of the Ptolemaic dynasty, tracing back its origin to Dionysus and Zeus, its cult was certainly promoted in the eyes of ordinary Greeks by the divine splendour which surrounded the members of the royal family.

The eagle is an often used motif on coins, and it sometimes appears on the magical gems of the Roman period. [18]

'Eagle' a name given to the Nile at the Ptolemaic period is only indirectly connected with the Theban Zeus-cult. Rather it was invented to give a rational interpretation to the myth of Prometheus. [19]

Apart from its mythological interest, the Zeus-Amun identification throws additional light on the ambitions of the Theban priests. Even to the end, they were proud of their glorious past, and after the loss of all their political influence they tried to enhance their ever more neglected god by other means. By associating him with Zeus, then, they had the opportunity to increase his prestige in the Greek world on the one hand, and to obtain a noble position for him in the legendary Egyptian first primeval dynasty of the gods on the other. The above mentioned Theban tradition — Amun as father of Osiris — preserved by Diodorus [20] places Zeus-Amun in the third Heliopolitan divine generation, which corresponds to classical Greek genealogy (Uranus-Cronus-Zeus). Here, of course, Helios (Re) is the god-king occupying the first place, while another belief, also mentioned here, gives the first place to Hephaestus (Ptah). If one compares this dynasty of gods with the slightly earlier Manetho-list, the extent to which Theban priests profited from the Graeco-Egyptian syncretism becomes obvious: in the work of Manetho, Amun did not receive a place in the first dynasty of the gods, but was placed among the demigods. [21]

There were two cities — apart from the oracle-temple in Siwa — in Egypt where Zeus enjoyed a veritable cult. These were Thebes and Alexandria. (The obligatory official cult in Greek communities, e.g. in Naucratis, and especially that of Jupiter Capitolinus introduced by the Romans, did not influence the religious life of the country.) Zeus was certainly venerated in Thebes as long as Amun. A high priest of Amun is attested from 180 A.D. [22] In Alexandria, the handful of followers of the ancient Greek and Egyptian gods fought their last open religious disputes about 400 A.D. in the name of Zeus [23] against the victorious Christians. Zeus remained for them the symbol of omnipotent divine power, the sovereign of the universe.

Notes

1. II, 42. Best general work on Zeus: A. B. COOK, Zeus I-III, 1914-1940.

2. DIODORUS I, 12, 2; 13, 2. Cf. the commentary of A. BURTON, (Diodorus Siculus Book I., I) ÉPRO

29. | Leiden 1972. p. 67 ff).
3. K. SETHE, Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis | APAW 1929. | § 217.
4. DIODORUS I. 13, 4.
5. J. LECLANT, Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e dynastie... Le Caire 1965. 262 f.
6. C. DE WIT, Les inscriptions du temple d'Opet II, | Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca XII. | Bruxelles 1962. pl. 4.
7. P. BARGUET, Le papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre, Le Caire 1962.
8. É. CHASSINAT, Dendara II. 101.
9. De Iside 12. Cf. J. G. GRIFFITHS, Plutarch's de Iside et Osiride, Cardiff 1970. 296 ff.
10. J. QUAEGBEUR in: Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica 6-7 (1975-76) p. 464.
11. II. I. 423 f. This motif itself is of Egyptian origin. Cf. KÁKOSY in: Annales Universitatis... de R. Eötvös Nom. Sectio Hist. 8 (1966) 7. f.
12. DIODORUS I. 97, 9 BURTON op. cit. 282.
13. Fayza Mohamed Hussein HAIKAL, Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin II, | Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca XV. | Bruxelles 1972. p. 15.
14. Urk. IV. 352 f.
15. A. BATAILLE, Les Memnonia, Le Caire 1952.
16. LÄ I. 64 (E. Brunner-Traut).
17. DIODORUS I. 87, 9; STRABO 17 I. 40.
18. A. DELATTE-Ph. DERCHAIN, Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes, Paris 1964. 277 ff, 177, 191 f; Abd el-Mohsen el-KHACHAB in: JEA 49 (1963) 151 pl. XXV. 12.
19. DIODORUS I. 19, 1-2.
20. I. 13.
21. W. G. WADDELL, Manetho, London 1956, 16 (fr. 3).
22. J. QUAEGBEUR in: BSFE 70-71 43.
23. Fr. HINTZE-S. MORENZ in: ZÄS 81 (1956) 125 ff. Zeus in Faiyum at the Graeco-Roman Period: W. J. R. RÜBSAM, Götter und Kulte in Faijum während der griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Zeit, Bonn 1974. passim.

ZS. KAKUK

IGNÁC KÚNOS' NACHLASS IN DER ORIENTALISCHEN SAMMLUNG DER BIBLIOTHEK DER UNGARISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN

Wir müssen die Tatsache als einen ungewöhnlichen und seltenen historischen Widerspruch betrachten, dass die grausamen Ereignisse des ersten Weltkrieges in gewissen Hinsicht der Wissenschaft einen Nutzen brachten. In den Gefangenenlagern der Österreich-Ungarischen Monarchie trafen Kriegsgefangene aus den verschiedensten Gebieten des mächtigen russischen Reiches zusammen. Unter ihnen fanden die Forscher Vertreter solcher Volksgruppen, bei denen sie wertvolles Material für die Fachgebiete der Volksmusik, der Ethnographie und der Volkssprache sammeln konnten. Im Gefangenenlager bei Eger in Böhmen hielt der Volksmusikforscher R. LACH seine reiche Volksliedersammlung auf Phonographplatten fest. Das von ihm gesammelte Material wurde im Jahre 1952 von Herbert JANSKY unter dem Titel 'Volksgesänge von Völkern Russlands' herausgegeben. Die Sammlung, die aus mehreren Bänden besteht, enthält unter anderem Volkslieder der finnisch-ugrischen und türkischen Völkern. Im Gefangenenlager bei Wünsdorf in Österreich wurden die wertvollen tatarischen Texte der Sammlung von G. WEIL auf Phonographplatten aufgenommen.[1]

In Ungarn wurde in Kenyérmező bei Esztergom ein Gefangenenlager errichtet. Hier sammelten bei den Gefangenen aus den finnisch-ugrischen Sprachgebieten Bernát MUNKÁCSI, Ödön BEKE, Béla VIKÁR und József BALASSA. Auch Ignác KÚNOS, der sich besonders für die türkische Folklore interessierte, nutzte diese Möglichkeit aus, die infolge der besonderen Umstände zustande gekommen sind. Er besuchte mehrmals die Gefangenenlager bei Eger und in Kenyérmező. In beiden Lagern waren die Mohamedaner, unter ihnen die verschiedenen Gefangenen aus den türkischen Sprachgebieten, in einer Gruppe untergebracht.

Ignác KÚNOS berichtete über seine Besuche in den Lagern bei Eger und in Kenyérmező in einem Vortrag in der Sektionssitzung der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften am 3. Januar 1916. Sein Vortrag ist im Jahre 1916 in der Zeitschrift Budapesti Szemle [Budapester Rundschau] erschienen. Die Soldaten waren auf den Abhängen von Kenyérmező und in der Nähe des Tales bei Eger untergebracht. Hier, bei Eger wohnten zur Zeit des Besuches von KÚNOS, im Jahre

1915, ungefähr 30 000 Menschen auf einem so grossen Gebiet, das ungefähr einer Stadt entspricht. Die in Kenyérmező wohnenden Mohamedaner stammten von allem von der Halbinsel Krim und aus dem Kaukasus sowie aus der Umgebung der Volga. Im Lager bei Eger lebten — aus den für uns interessanten Völkern des türkischen Sprachgebietes — Kasantataren, Mischären, Baschkiren, Kumüken, Nogaien und Türkmänen.

KÚNOS hat leider nach diesem frühen Bericht aus dem Jahre 1915 keinen weiteren veröffentlicht, obwohl er bis 1918 jedes Jahr beide Lager besucht hatte. Es existiert aber noch ein anderer Bericht, ein noch unveröffentlichtes Manuskript, das zur Zeit im Besitz der Familie Kúnos ist. Das Manuskript ist nicht datiert, aus seinem Inhalt kann man aber darauf folgern, dass es nicht aufgrund des ersten Besuches im Jahre 1915 entstanden ist, sondern von einem späteren, zusammenfassenden Bericht gesprochen werden kann. Das 39 Seiten starke Manuskript trägt den Titel 'Iszlám foglyok tatár táborában' [Im Gefangenenlager der islamischen Tataren], es enthält einen etwas ausführlicheren Bericht als die veröffentlichte Fassung. Der Bericht, der KÚNOS' Stil entsprechend nicht streng wissenschaftlich konzipiert ist, enthält vor allem die Eindrücke aus dem Lager bei Eger.

Ausser der Beschreibung des Lagerlebens sind die Bemerkungen bezüglich der verschiedenen ethnischen Einheiten besonders interessant. So z.B. schreibt er, dass bei den Krimtataren die Vermengung mit den Tscherkessen und vor allem mit den Osmanen eine besonders wichtige Rolle spielt, unter ihnen sind kaum einige, die schreiben oder lesen können, die Schreib- und Lesekundigen neigen zu der Konstantinapolitanischen Kultur. Nur in der Volksdichtung werden noch die ursprünglichen tatarischen Eigentümlichkeiten bewahrt, die Erinnerung an den Volkshelden und die Tradition der Räuberromantik ist bei ihnen noch lebendig. Die Kasantataren sind die geschultesten. Hodschas, Volkslehrer sind unter ihnen, die ein Tagebuch führen, Theatervorstellungen inszenieren, sie haben auch KÚNOS bei der sprachlichen Abschrift sehr geholfen. Sie versuchen, ihre Gärtner- und Ackerbaukenntnisse, die sie aus der Heimat mitgebracht haben, auch hier an zu wenden. Sie besitzen eine ausserordentliche Handfertigkeit bei Schitzarbeiten, sind selbstbewusst, nüchtern und besonnen. Ethnisch sind die Mischären am interessantesten, sie sind untersetzt, stämmig, haben blaue Augen und blondes Haar. Sie stehen auf einer relativ niedrigen Kulturstufe und sind vor allem den Äusserlichkeiten des Islams zugetan. Ihre listige Schalkhaftigkeit und Geschicklichkeit beim Kauf und Verkauf ist sprichwörtlich. Ihnen gegenüber scheinen die Baschkiren zu sanftmütig und ungeschickt zu sein. Sie sind klein, haben schwarze Haare und hervorstehende Backenknochen. Sie werden nur dann munter, wenn sie ihre Lieder singen. Die zurückgebliebensten sind die Türkmänen, sie zeigen nie eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit und dulden friedlich ihre ihnen aufgezwungene Lage. Desto schwerer vertragen die Gefangenschaft die Menschen aus dem Gebiet des Kaukasus: die Kumüken, Awaren, Osseten und Grusinier, deren aussergewöhnliche Lage auch von der Tatsache gezeigt wird, dass sie ihre nationale Tracht tragen (siehe Seite 11-19 im Manuskript).

ak-lur al titauladon
 su lupina buzege
 huraenge hurelonein
 tureu birren buzege.

ak-ali bapladon
 su benetina ienaleje
 hurengear pitermein
 sabia vortin gorenne.

a fohor lovat meghotoltem
 a viz partjan a kelle
 a nem latonate ne mulassa mag
 a latonate turelmet adjon.

5. ak-lur alai iyar pikon
 tat alende upasin
 teitile liden bulap-bulmy
 nicile ilep upasin.

ak-ali ihar brate
 tare vlla opasin
 benchilale liden megor
 nait opamale lathim.

a fohor lovat vobele, bappad
 a fure piven had jabschelt
 a fialalangeben nem lud haboi
 Huggan hell jaltbani.

ak-bugeren-de quetig
 kute bugeren-de quetig
 mabix pihetlon-de ulmy
 tanga sabalen quernig.

ak-gaveren-de pihetlon
 mavi gaveren-de queten
 mabix pigil ol megor
 Dunga sabalini porengeor.

a fohor galamb u lurtelot
 a mab galamb u lurtelot
 a megeing ilfu u meghel
 a vilag ugugalanet nem lalya.

Aufzeichnungen von Ignác Kúnos

ak haan lau brik bi loqem
 Hap-le minem bi loqem
 Ha bi loqem baikul bolia
 base lordei jiregem.

ak haan gi bi bi loqem
 Toh-dun beaim bi loqem
 bi bi loqem baikul oluma
 Rahat olardun jiregem.

miut fohin ho a haanum
 Toh ab en ohaqom
 Ha aq ohaqom tofosiine
 nguglon leuna miveu.

ak tarufu bu vaseu
 biqut silu la aseu
 rige hiltu jax bolau
 in the eam bolau.

+ neqar la talia baylatu
 Toh-de quril olurum
 rige jolurum, jax durum
 biilaqa kag olurum.

Fohin silod mequtid,
 nagyon u rige leuol.
 Hozuak la jure, mequtid leuol
 maich mameu olurum.

15. ak karathu aia bilu udu
 juma rajen himage
 minem kumtom aia andarden
 shlas bolon himage?

+ beqar rubufo nian di bilu udu
 her kumada jiporedilale
 beaim qumtom nian sharladi
 shlas le reomeditale?

Fohin jolollid meut vaxrattad,
 Ha p'intakentent sel nem veved,
 Ba en miveu meut vintottat
 jogy ha nem mivedit?

Im Lager hat jede ethnische Gruppe ihre eigene Tätigkeit. Die Krimtataren und die Kasantataren sind geschickt bei den Schnitzarbeiten, die Völker aus dem Kaukasus verfertigen hübsche Schmuckstücke aus Pelz und Silber, sie arbeiten an Ringen und Ketten. Die Baschkiren und die Nogaien bereiten Tornister mit Stickerei aus Leinen, die Türkmene sind gewandt im Strohflechten und in der Anfertigung von Strohteppichen (Seite 21.).

Die bisher erwähnten beiden Berichte bilden nur den Rahmen der bedeutenden Tätigkeit KÚNOS' auf dem Gebiet der Volksdichtung, die Berichte zeigen nur den Hintergrund seiner Arbeit. Das Material selbst die beinahe 1200 Seiten umfassende tatarische Folkloresammlung, die im Jahre 1952 von der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften von KÚNOS's Witwe erworben wurde, sagt viel mehr als die Berichte.

Den tatarischen Text hat er auf der einen Hälfte der halbbogengrossen Blätter von Hand in dichten Zeilen geschrieben, doch ist das Manuskript gut lesbar. KÚNOS notierte wahrscheinlich an Ort und Stelle die Anmerkungen in Hefte — davon zeugt ein vor kurzem gefundenes Heftchen —, und übertrug sie wohl danach ins Reine auf diese Bogen. Von den meisten Prosatexten besitzen wir auch eine ungarische Übersetzung. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass KÚNOS zu jedem tatarischen Text eine entsprechende Übersetzung verfertigte, nur sind diese zum Teil entweder verlorengegangen oder noch irgendwo verborgen. Zu dem grössten Teil der Lieder besitzen wir nicht nur eine ungarische, sondern auch eine türkische Übersetzung.

Nehmen wir nun das tatarische bzw. türkische Nachlassmaterial in Augenschein, das jetzt in fünf Paketen in der Orientalischen Sammlung der Akademie aufbewahrt wird.

1. Kasantatarisches Material

Das erste Paket besteht aus 231 Seiten, es enthält den Text von zwei längeren und elf kürzeren tatarischen Volksmärchen. Diese Märchen wurden von KÚNOS im Gefangenenerlager bei Eger in den Jahren 1916 und 1917 gesammelt. Die Märchen unterscheiden sich inhaltlich sehr voneinander, neben der Märchenwelt der 1001 Nacht sind in den Märchen auch die Motive aus dem Alltagsleben des tatarischen Volkes enthalten. Im tatarischen Text stehen neben einigen selteren Wörtern oder Wendungen auch die türkischen bzw. ungarischen Entsprechungen. Zu dieser umfangreichen Volksmärchensammlung besitzen wir keine ungarische Übersetzung. In Nachlass, der zur Zeit noch im Besitz der Familie Kúnos ist — dieses Material konnte ich vor anderthalb Jahren durchlesen —, habe ich auch keine Übersetzung zu diesen kasantatarischen Märchen gefunden. Das Paket Nummer IV, das aus 212 Seiten besteht, enthält 634 kasantatarische Vierzeiler — tatarische Benennung 'čon' oder 'džir'. Diese Lieder wurden zwischen 1915 und 1918 im Gefangenenerlager bei Eger gesammelt. Die Lieder sind in keiner Hinsicht in Gruppen geordnet. Jedem tatarischen Text folgt dessen türkische und ungarische Übersetzung.

Diese beiden Pakete, insgesamt 443 Seiten, enthalten einen Band sehr wertvolles kasantatarisches Folklorematerial.

2. Mischärtatarisches Material

Das dritte Paket unserer Sammlung besteht aus 161 Seiten und enthält 231 mischärtatarische Vierzeiler und sieben mischärtatarische Märchen. Alle Lieder sind Vierzeiler und sind ähnlich wie die kasantatarische Lieder sowohl mit türkischer, als auch ungarischer Übersetzung versehen. Nur zum siebenten Märchen fehlt die ungarische Übersetzung. Hier sind wahrscheinlich einige Seiten des Manuskriptes verlorengegangen.

Im selben Paket finden wir ausserdem zwei grössere Bogen mit insgesamt 32 mischärtatarischen Liedern (alles Vierzeiler), aber ohne ungarische Übersetzung. Diese zwei losen Bogen tragen die Nummer 3, und 4, die Numerierung der Lieder beginnt mit zehn, so ist es wahrscheinlich, dass die ersten beiden Seiten verlorengegangen sind.

Die Motive der mischärtatarischen Volksmärchen sind den Motiven der Kasantatarischen Märchen sehr ähnlich, die Lieder sind aber sowohl inhaltlich als auch in ihrer Stimmung abwechslungsreicher als die kasantatarischen Lieder. Die Motive dieser Lieder sind Liebe, Soldatenleben, Heimweh, Freundschaft und sehr oft erscheinen Motive aus dem mischärtatarischen Kaufmannsleben.

Im fünften Paket mit verschiedenem Material finden wir auch mischärtatarische Texte. Auf den Seiten 45 bis 60 ist ein mischärtatarisches Wörterverzeichnis aus 350 Wörtern zusammengestellt. Die mischärtaren Wörter und Wendungen sind — ausser einigen Ausnahmefällen — mit ihren ungarischen oder türkischen Entsprechungen angegeben. Das kurze Wörterverzeichnis besteht aus Wörtern des Alltagslebens.

KÚNOS hat das ganze mischärtatarische Material im Gefangenenlager bei Eger gesammelt. Obwohl es nicht so umfangreich ist wie das kasantatarische Material, können wir annehmen, dass seine Bedeutung grösser ist, weil es zur Kenntnis der Folklore und der Mundart einer weniger bekannten und untersuchten ethnischen Gruppe Möglichkeit bietet.

3. Krimtatarisches Material

Das umfangreichste Paket — mit der Nummer II — besteht aus 444 Blättern und enthält krimtatarische Volksmärchen. Jedem Märchen folgt dessen ungarische Übersetzung. Das Material wurde von KÚNOS im Jahre 1915 im Gefangenenlager von Kenyérmező gesammelt.

Inhaltlich ist das Material sehr mannigfaltig und widerspiegelt getreu den reichen Volksmärchenschatz der Krimtataren. Am wertvollsten sind die Varianten bzw. die Fragmente der uralten krimtatarischen Sagen, unter ihnen das Fragment des Werkes ČORA BATİR auf 20 Seiten, zwei Fassungen der Geschichte von AHMED BATİR, die Geschichten von TEMIR BOLAT und von dem KHAN SENERI. Die Traditionen der Räuberromantik leben in den Räuber- und Diebesmärchen weiter.

Die bekannten Motive der orientalischen (und teilweise der europäischen) Märchenwelt — der musizierende Baum, das Mädchen, das Perlen weint — erscheinen in mehreren, künstlerisch aufgebauten Märchen. Interessant sind die bauerlichen Erzählungen die das Alltagsleben oft scherzhaft oder mit pikanten Zügen vorstellen.

Wenn wir an die mannigfaltige, reiche Welt der krimtatarischen Volksmärchen denken, dann bedauern wir noch mehr, dass in unserer Sammlung die krimtatarischen Lieder fehlen. Im früher erwähnten kasantatarischen und mischärtatarischen Material finden wir neben den Volksmärchen auch Lieder. Das bestätigt unsere frühere Annahme, dass auch krimtatarische Volkslieder vorhanden gewesen sein müssten. In seinem veröffentlichten Bericht erwähnt auch KÚNOS, dass er ausser Volksmärchen mehrere hundert Volkslieder bei den Krimtataren gesammelt hat (Seite 4). Es gibt also wirklich krimtatarische Lieder. Das Manuskript dieser Lieder habe ich vor anderthalb Jahren bei der Familie Kúnos gefunden, als ich den Nachlass durchforschen durfte. Es wäre wünschenswert, dieses Material, sobald wie möglich, in den Besitz der Akademie zu überführen.

Die Veröffentlichung des mit den Liedern ergänzten krimtatarischen Materials wäre auch darum besonders wichtig, weil die Krimtataren seitdem ausgesiedelt und teilweise zerstreut sind, so ist das von KÚNOS gesammelte Material ein Teil der für unsere Zeit geretteten Folklore der Krimtataren.

Neben dem bisher besprochenen kasantatarischen, mischärtatarischen und krimtatarischen Material ist die Sammlung der Krimnogaien, der Krimkaraimen und der Donautataren viel bescheidener. Dieses Material wurde auch weniger systematisch gesammelt und bearbeitet. Es sind sozusagen nur Wörterverzeichnisse, das zusammenhängende sprachliche Material ist fragmentarisch, ihre Übersetzung lückenhaft. Zeit und Ort ihres Entstehens ist auch nicht einheitlich. Sie gehören zum gemischten Material unserer Sammlung im Paket Nummer V.

4. Das krimnogaische Material

Das krimnogaische Material besteht aus 24 Seiten. Es wurde von KÚNOS im Lager bei Eger gesammelt. Das Material besteht aus einem Wörterverzeichnis, von etwa 460 Wörtern, dazu gehören noch ein kurzer Prosatext aus der Alltagssprache, 13 Lieder (Vierzeiler) und ein Fragment des ČORA BATİRS. Die Wörter des Verzeichnisses sind entweder ungarisch oder türkisch erklärt, die Texte haben keine Übersetzung. Die Aufzeichnungen beziehen sich auf die Nogaitataren, die in den Bergen der nördlichen Hälfte der Halbinsel Krim leben.

5. Krimkaraimisches Material

Verhältnismässig reicher ist das karaimische Material (65 Seiten). Es wurde aber von KÚNOS nicht mehr in den Gefangenenlagern des ersten Weltkrieges gesammelt, sondern erst im Sommer der Jahre 1925, 1926 und 1927 in Istanbul,

als er auf Einladung des türkischen Ministers für Unterrichtswesen an der Universität von Istanbul über die türkische Volksdichtung Vorträge gehalten hat. Er sammelte das Material bei solchen Karaimen, die von der Halbinsel Krim nach Istanbul gezogen sind, vor allem aber bei ihrem Leiter, SERAJA SCHAPSCHAL. Diese Aufzeichnungen enthalten Märchen- und Gedichtfragmente, Rätsel, Vierzeiler, liturgische Textfragmente und ein umfangreiches, etwa 800 Wörtern umfassendes Wörterverzeichnis. Das Wörterverzeichnis ist mit türkischen oder mit ungarischen Erklärungen versehen. Die Einleitung und die ungarischen Sätze zwischen den karaimischen Texten enthalten wertvolle Bemerkungen über das Leben, die Sprache und Religion der ehemaligen Krimkaraimen, die sich für die Nachkommen der Kasaren hielten.

Das verhältnismässig kleine karaimische Volk lebt heute zerstreut in der Sowjetunion und in Polen. Ihre Geschichte, Religion und Sprache unterscheiden sich in vieler Hinsicht von der der übrigen türkischen Völker. Die Veröffentlichung des karaimischen Materials von KÚNOS wäre mit Sicherheit sehr interessant für die Turkologen.

6. Donautatarisches Material

Die kleinste, insgesamt aus 23 Blättern bestehende Sammlung enthält donautatarische Aufzeichnungen. Dieses Material wurde im Jahre 1912 bei solchen Tataren gesammelt, die von der Halbinsel Krim in die Umgebung von Silistra gezogen sind. Das Material ist ein Wörterverzeichnis mit etwa 450 Wörtern, es enthält auch kürzere Sätze und Wendungen.

Das ist also das umfangreiche tatarische Folklorematerial, das KÚNOS mit weniger Ausnahme in zwei Gefangeneneinrichtungen des ersten Weltkrieges gesammelt hat, und das im Jahre 1951 die Orientalische Sammlung der Bibliothek der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften erworben hat.

Wir verdanken Gyula ORTUTAY und Lajos LIGETI dass die Orientalische Sammlung mit einem neuen Manuskript von KÚNOS bereichert wurde. Es ist höchstwahrscheinlich eines der Hefte, in die KÚNOS an Ort und Stelle die Texte notierte. Das Material des Heftchens ist sehr mannigfaltig. Es enthält krim-, kasan- und mischärtatarische Märchen, Volkslieder, Wörterverzeichnisse, grammatische Paradigmen, phonetische Anmerkungen und auf einer Seite baschkirische geographische Namen.

Ein Teil des im Heftchen aufgezeichneten Materials, so z.B. das krimtatarische Märchen, einige kasan- und mischärtatarische Lieder ist auch in der grossen Sammlung finden. Dort fehlt aber das verhältnismässig umfangreiche und bekannte 'Aq büri ekjėti' [Märchen vom weissen Wolf]. Dieses Märchen hat KUNOS selbst in seiner noch in arabischer Schrift veröffentlichten Arbeit 'Türk halq edebiyatı' – 'De la poésie populaire turque' (Istanbul, 1925) herausgegeben. Diese kleine Arbeit handelt von der osmanisch-türkischen Volksdichtung, im siebenten Kapitel beschäftigt sich aber der Autor mit der Volksdichtung anderer türkischer Völker. Ausser dem schon erwähnten kasantatarischen Märchen stellt

der Autor noch acht krimtatarische, fünf mischärtatarische und sechs kasantatarische Lieder aus seiner eigenen Sammlung vor.

Wir finden eine bemerkenswerte Aufzeichnung auf der letzten Seite des Heftchens. Demnach wurden in Eger am 9-12. August 1915 kasantatarische und krimtatarische Volksmärchen und Volkslieder sowie mischärtatarische, baschkirische, kumükische und nogaitatarische Lieder auf Phonographplatte aufgenommen. Wir können die Frage stellen: Sind diese mit den von Robert Lach aufgenommenen Liedern identisch — KÚNOS hat bei der Erklärung der Text dieser Lieder LACH geholfen, der kein Turkologe war —, oder ist hier von einer selbständigen Aufnahme KÚNOS' die Rede, und wenn ja, wo sind dann diese Aufnahmen? Beim Durchblättern dieses Heftchens müssen wir uns wieder die Frage stellen: Warum ist in der grossen Sammlung kein baschkirisches, türkmenisches und kumükisches Material? Im Lager bei Eger waren ja auch Baschkiren, Türkmenen und Kumüken! Diese Fragen können — eventuell — dann beantwortet werden, wenn wir schon den ganzen KÚNOS-schen Nachlass genau untersucht haben.

Ich glaube, dass aus dem bisher Gesagten deutlich hervorgeht, dass die Sammlung von KÚNOS keinesfalls eine alltägliche Sammlung der tatarischen Folklore ist, diese Sammlung ist ein Schatz. Ausser dem folkloristischen Wert ist auch der sprachliche Wert dieser Sammlung nennenswert. Leider entsprechen die mundartlichen Aufzeichnungen nicht in jeder Hinsicht den Erfordernissen der Wissenschaftlichkeit, KÚNOS' Informatoren kamen aus den verschiedensten Gebieten, wissen wir von ihnen im allgemeinen nur so viel, dass der eine ein Kasantatare, der andere ein Krimtatare war usw. Der Ort, woher sie stammten, ist nicht angegeben. Einen grösseren Mangel bedeutet die Tatsache, dass die phonetische Abschrift zu grosszügig ist. So bezeichnet KÚNOS im kasantatarischen z.B. die velare und palatale Versionen der reduzierten Vokale mit demselben Zeichen ["ë"]. Auch zur Bezeichnung der labialen Vokale, benutzt er nur zwei Zeichen ["u" und "ü"]. Zugleich widerspiegeln sich im ganzen Material die Eigentümlichkeiten der kiptschakischen Sprache (z.B. die Unterscheidung der offenen und geschlossenen e-Laute, die für die kiptschakische Sprache charakteristischen Konsonanten-Wechsel) sowie die Eigentümlichkeiten der verschiedenen Sprachen, wie z.B. die für einige mischäre Mundarten charakteristischen c-Laute oder die d'-Laute am Anfang der Wörter, bzw. die charakteristischen Züge des Krimtatarischen des Steppengebietes im Vergleich mit der osmanisierten tatarischen Sprache. Im umfangreichen Material der Wörter aus der Volkssprache kommen auch solche alte und volkstümliche Wörter vor, die auch an sich besonders wertvoll sind.

Die vor uns stehende Aufgabe ist also nicht gering. Wir müssen zuerst jene KÚNOS-Manuskripte aufspüren und erwerben, die unsere Sammlung vervollständigen werden. Dann müssen wir — diesen, für mehrere Bände ausreichenden wertvollen Stoff veröffentlichen.

Auswahl aus den kasantatarischen vierzeiligen Liedern [2]

açı buran salkın žil
čimétij iké bitimné
avur asret katı ajšık
ašij žürek itimné

Bissiger Sturm, kalter Wind
beisst in meine Wangen,
schwerer Kummer, harte Liebe
nagt an meinem Herzen

ayım suğa karšé barıp
ustalar-da žüze-almıj
išék tutkan jikétler
žırlamısa tüze-almıj

Gegen den Strom können
nicht sinmal die Besten schwimmen,
die verliebten Burschen
vertragen es nicht, wenn nicht singend

aj žanašım jaratam
br kürürge žan atam
sin žanijém janıya kilsem
bar xasretim taratam

Ach, mein Bester, ich lieb' dich,
dich einmal zu seh'n, verwerf' ich mein Leben,
mein Bester, wenn ich zu dir komme,
verwerf' ich all meinen Kummer

aj duslarım duslarım
duslarım em işlerim
siz duslardan ajırılğač
jalız başım nişlerém

Ach, Freunde, Freunde,
Freunde und Gesellen,
von euch, Freunde, geschieden,
was soll ich einsam machen?

aj xaj Kazan küpiré
küpirénden ütuvé
ežellerdin avır boldı
ajérleşép kituvé

Ajaj, Brücke von Kasan,
diese Brücke zu kreuzen,
schwerer als der Tod
war Abschied zu nehmen

aj katında jaktı jüldüz
aršın jarım arası
jüzleriné nurlandıra
kašlarını karası

Funkelnder Stern neben dem Mond,
anderthalb Arschin voneinander entfernt,
ihre Wangen werden glänzend
von ihrer Brauen Schwärze

ajnı nuré artadı
ajnı unbišé žitkeč
ni xal itép tüzermén
žanım jatlarğa kitkeč

Das Licht des Mondes wächst
am fünfzehnten des Monats,
wie kann ich vertragen
die Untreue meiner Liebsten?

ak kar java kúzindin
ak-buz atnı tizindin
bizge jardém bolsa bolij
bir xudajnı üzindin

Weiss schneit es seit Herbst,
reicht dem Grauschimmel bis Knie,
wenn wir Rettung haben,
einzig nur vom Gott

aklı sitsa buzmiş diğler
al bizekten buzaj-ken
jaş ümêrni uzmiş diğler
jaşin-kübük uzaj-ken

aklı sitsa külmegimnê
nige kije başlayan
üz başımğa xasret itêp
nige sùje başlayan

ak-ta kije bizniş jar
kük-te kije bizniş jar
arın salıp kügin kije
kük küjerçin bizniş jar

aldım çilek bardım suya
çümürêp aldım tolmağan
iç-breüğe üpkelemim
üz baxitê bolmağan

al-dır Kazan kalası
gül-dür Kazan kalası
içêñ tulı kajı boljaç
ut-tır Kazan kalası

alıj atniş alasin
aldırtajık dayasin
siñilisê mator boljaç
dust itejik ajasin

alma birdem, aldın-bit
al jaulıkka saldıñ-bit
kara kaşım, karlıjaçım
tayın jatka kaldıñ-bit

al-mı al japkıçlarıñ
gül-mü al japkıçlarıñ
juk diseñ-de bar-dır ele
küşül şuvatkiçlarıñ

altı miskal inşu aldım
kalfayıma tüzerge
sin anadın tayar-iken
jüregimni üzerge

Man sagt, weisses Leinen zerreisst nicht,
beim roten Muster zerreisst es,
man sagt, Jugend verschwindet nicht,
wie der Blitz verschwindet

Warum begann icht tragen
mein weisses Leinenhemd?
mir Leiden bringend,
warum begann ich lieben?

Weisses Hemd trägt meine Liebste,
blaues trägt auch meine Liebste,
wenn weisses ab, wenn blaues auf,
blaue Taube ist meine Liebste

Ich nahm den Eimer, ging zum Wasser,
tauchte ihn ein, doch wurde er nicht voll,
ich bin keinesfalls böse,
ich hatte nur kein Glück

Die Stadt Kasan ist rot,
die Stadt Kasan ist Rose,
wenn dein Herz voll ist mit Kummer,
die Stadt Kasan ist Feuer

Kaufen wir das scheckige Pferd,
nehmen wir den Huf ab,
hat er eine schöne Schwester,
machen wir den Bruder zum Freund

Ich gab dir einen Apfel, du nahmst ihn an,
in dein rotes Tuch wickeltest ihn ein,
du mit schwarzen Brauen, du meine Schwalbe,
wieder bekam ein anderer dich

Ist deine Schürze rot?
sind auch Rosen drauf?
wenn du auch nein sagst, gibt's doch einen,
der dein Herz tröstet

Sechs Miskal Perlen hab' ich
für meine Kappe gekauft,
deine Mutter hat dich geboren,
um mein Herz zu brechen

altın alka avur tarta
altı miskaldın arta
ğırlasak-ta muylansak-ta
emen asretler arta

altın ijer katfa minder
ijerledim atlarya
appakkajım almakajım
kúziñ salma jatlarya

altın tarak kulımda
uzun çaçım tarımén
sin ğanijém isime tússey
tulıyan ajya karımén

appak appak ak-čarlak
su bujında ujası
raxatı juk mijneti kúp
utka ğansın tünjası

appak ğilek češkesé
jata jirde bejlenép
uasib bolsa bz kajtərbéz
kujaš-kúbük ejlenép

Schwer sind goldene Ohrringe,
schwerer als sechs Miskal,
wenn wir singen, wenn wir trauern,
unser Kummer wird nur schwerer

Gold'ner Sattel, Kissen aus Samt
sattelte ich auf die Pferde
Schneeweisschen, mein Apfelchen,
schau' nicht auf die anderen

Gold'ner Kamm in meiner Hand,
kämme ich mein langes Haar
Liebchen, wenn ich an dich denke,
schau' ich nur den Vollmond an

Schneeweisse, schneeweisse Möwe,
ihr Nest ist am Ufer,
keine Ruhe, viel Kummer,
Feuer soll die Welt vernichten

Schneeweisse Beerenblume
liegt zersaust auf der Erde,
wenn das Schicksal uns erlaubt,
kehren wir wieder, der Sonne gleich

Anmerkungen

1. Die diesbezügliche Literatur sihe in meinem früheren Bericht: 'Poésie populaire tatare recueillie par I. Kúnos': Acta Orient. Hung. 16 (1963) S. 83-97.
2. Den tatarischen Text gebe ich buchstabentreu, nach Kúnos' Abschrift an, in der Übersetzung wurden einige stilistische Veränderungen durchgeführt.

G. KARA

DE L' ONIROMANCIE MONGOLE

Les songes, ces vues animées qui, libres du contrôle de la raison, se forment dans le subconscient pendant le sommeil, jouaient un certain rôle même dans la culture traditionnelle des Mongols, notamment dans leur pratique divinatoire. L' 'Histoire secrète' nous raconte le rêve de Dei le Sage: un faucon blanc qui tient le soleil et la lune entre ses serres descend sur la main de Dei et cette vision lui annonce l'arrivée d'hôtes importants, de Temüjin avec son père (61); dans un autre passage (201), Ĵamuqa, le rival capturé, dit de lui-même que, laissé vivant, il serait la cause des mauvais songes de Gengis. Dans le premier exemple le songe apparaît comme un signe qui porte une information, dans le seconde il fonctionne en soi.

Les anciennes traditions ont été influencées par les idées d'origine indo-tibétaine et par le monde chinois. On peut rappeler le songe de la reine, mère du pieux prince Mahāsattva du conte bouddhique (dans les sūtras 'Altan gerel' et 'Üliger-ün dalai') ou les seins découpés, les dents tombées et la tourterelle saisie par un faucon signifient la mort du prince; on peut citer le faux songe que Geser renvoie au lama-démon (textes antérieurs au XVIII^e siècle), les songes du roman chinois, 'Hong-leou-mong', traduit en mongol sous le titre 'Ulayān asar-un Ĵegüdün' et sa réincarnation mongole, le 'Ulayān-a okilaqu tangkim' par InĴannasi (XIX^e siècle). Dans le KanĴur mongol imprimé on trouve deux rédactions d'un petit ouvrage contenant l'incantation pour les songes ('Dandra', vol. VI, 9: 'Ĵegüdün-i üĴügülküi neretü tarni'; vol. XXIV, 7: 'Ĵegüdün-i üĴeküi neretü tarni'), on connaît plusieurs copies d'un bref manuel non-canonique sur les mauvais songes 'Ĵegüdün-i qariĴulqu nom' (W. HEISSIG-K. SAGASTER, Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke, Landkarten, nos 11-114).

Une chanson oirate (VLADIMIROV, Obrazcy, no. 81) présente des songes symboliques, interprétés par des songes "concrets" (strophe A || B, vers ab || cd): "En songe, j'ai passé la nuit entre deux montagnes. En songe, j'ai embrassé tes joues roses-rouges. En songe, je me suis couché sur la prairie blanche. En songe, j'ai sucé ta langue et ta salive." Ce rare exemple folklorique de l'explication des songes érotiques montre une mentalité

gouvernée par les analogies, et c'est cette mentalité qui est propre et à la poésie populaire, et à l'oniromancie.

Dans ce qui suit je donne le texte et l'interprétation d'un petit manuel mongol de songes. Je l'ai copié d'un manuscrit conservé dans la bibliothèque de la ville de Kökeqota en 1959. Si l'on considère son aspect extérieur (papier, écriture, langue, orthographe pleine de vulgarismes), le manuscrit a dû être rédigé au cours du XIX^e siècle. Il ne consiste que de quelques feuillets (malheureusement les mesures exactes ont été perdues avec la copie en écriture ouïgoure et d'autres manuscrits mongols dans ma serviette volée en 1965, mais les fiches portant la transcription des explications ont conservé le texte intégral et l'ordre des songes).

La langue et les objets du texte montrent que le manuel a été composé à l'ancienne frontière des mondes chinois et mongol, c.-à-d., quelque part au Sud de la Mongolie intérieure. Il contient 334 songes dont 224 appartiennent aux songes bienheureux, 15 - aux songes neutres, 95 - aux mauvais songes. Ils sont classés dans un ordre thématique qui est cependant détruit par manque de logique.

L'ordre thématique rappelle la structure des dictionnaires ou des encyclopédies chinois: le ciel, la terre, les êtres surnaturels, l'homme, les animaux etc. La liste suivante contient les thèmes des songes du manuel dans un ordre identique, mais peut-être plus logique que celui de l'original:

- ciel: 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 (la porte du ciel), 14 (id.), 15, 17, 18, 46, 49, 71, 238
- soleil: 19, 20, 21, 32
- soleil et lune: 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29
- lune: 30, 31, 35
- étoile: 23, 28, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37
- la Voie lactée: 12, 16
- nuage: 19 (sans n.), 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45
- vent: 38, 45
- pluie: 5, 38, 50
- neige: 48, 51, 52, 53
- givre: 54
- tonnerre: 13, 46, foudre: 47
- arc-en-ciel: 4
- aube: 6, lumière: 25, clarté: 20, 35
- terre, poussière: 1, 46, 55, 56, 57, 58 59 (tremblement), 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 74 (boue), 329 (id.)
- montagne: 64, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 109, 111, 305, 313
- forêt: 103
- pierre: 106, 108, 110, 112
- plaine, prairie: 125
- fosse: 63, 65, précipice: 117
- les quatre directions: 39
- voie: 50, 293

- loin: 104, 161, 293
 dehors: 165
- eau: 69, 113, 114, 115, 117, 291, 309, 327
 lac: 119 rivière: 121
 pont: 116, 118, 120
 puits: 18, 234, 327, 329, 331
 couler: 114, 115, 117, 119
- Bouddha: 68, 70, 71, 72, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79
 bodhisattva: 77
 saints: 73, 152
 diable, démon: 76, 79, 81, 147
 encens et lampe: 83
 livre: 2, 75, 85, 152, (289)
 divination: 282
- empereur, prince, wang etc.: 153, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160
 homme distingué: 224
 fonctionnaire: 157
 écriture: 280, 282, 284 (dangsa), 286, 288, 289, 290
 papier: 289
 sceau: 290
- tête: 80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 90, 202
 cheveux: 89, 91, 93
 nez: 33
 (yeux): 158
 bouche: 97, 99
 dent: 95, 101 (gencive)
 mains: 37, 126, 184, 221
 doigt: 131, 135
 sein: 29, 172
 sang: 80, 99, 131, 133, 185
 excréments: 192, 194, 195, 197, 199
 corne: 84, 90, (315: cheval cornu)
 aile: 92
 laine: 97
 écume: 188
 corps: 4, 47, 51, 54, 66, 67, 85, 94, 133, 150, 156, 162, 177,
 186, 212, 251, 317, 320, 331
 voix: 70, (à voix forte : 115, 166)
 nom: 2
 homme, quelqu'un: 58, 68, 88, 102, 142, (ere kümün) 144, 154,
 163, 176, 178, 180, 183, 194, 196, 198, 201, 203, 205, 220, 222, 224,
 227, 229, 279, 280, 297, 299 (eme kümün), 323
 quelqu'un d'autre: 140

- femme: 130, 138, 140 (la propre f.), 142, 143, 144, 145, 147, 167, 169, 299, 334, v. aussi famille
- jeune fille qui met ses parures: 149
- homme malade: 174, 176, 178
- mort: 150, 151, 155, 180, 182, 183, 185, 187, 189, 191, 193
- famille
- frères: 137, 139, 141
- les époux: 124, 132, 134, 136; la propre épouse: 140
- enfant, fils: 146, 148, 151
- noces: 171 (à la maison), 229 (chez d'autres)
- maison: 21, 53, 56, 59, 60, 65, 98, 110, 111, 112, 166, 171, 173, 190, 197, 210, 225, 256, 257, 259, 270, 294, 303, 306, 310, 311, 321
- porte: 245, 292, 300, 302, 307, 333
- fourneau: 247 (tulʿa), cendre: 87
- lit: 168
- coffre, armoire: 285
- cercueil: 191
- nourriture, repas: 180, 223, 224 (budaʿa), 281 (qoolai)
- eau: 139, 226
- eau-de-vie: 122, 220, 222
- viande: 233, 235, 228 (mouton), 230, 231 (porc), 239 (canard), 237 (chien)
- jujube et noix muscade: 232; (fruit: 276)
- man-t'eu: 241
- médicament: 174
- vêtement: 188, 268, 334 (pantalon)
- fichu: 296
- chose: 301
- biens: 279 (ed)
- joyaux: 328, 330 (corail, perle), 278 (perle, jade), (287)
- argent, or: 326, (243, 332)
- monnaie: 308
- fer: 283
- couteau: 196, 200, 230, 291, 293, 295, 297, 299, 301
- ciseaux: 301
- hachette: 297
- tasse, boule: 287 (de jade), 298 (porcelaine), 332 (d'argent, d'or)
- miroir: 316, 318, 320, 322, 325
- peigne: 324
- cithare: 172
- flageolet: 179
- verge: 162

marché: 122, 124, 127, 129, 164

agriculture, blé: 208, 210, 212, 214, 216, 218, 219, 221, 225, 227

porc et mouton: 211, 304

porc: (230, 231), 321; cochonnet: 213

mouton: (228)

boeuf: 206, 304, 305, 307, 309, 310, 311, 313; veau: 207

cheval: 12, 207, 306, 308, 310, 312 (avec selle), 314, 315 (cornu),

317, 319

âne: 207

chien: v. viande

bête qui parle: 323

corne: 315

selle: 312

bride: 32

conduire une bête: 304, 313

pousser, croître: 208, 225, 315

volaille: 215 (poule, canard, oie), 256 (poule), 260 (oie, canard)

hirondelle: 257, 259

pie: 265

canard jaune: 261

paon: 252

oiseau: 217, 258, 263, 264

nidifier: 257

autres animaux

rat: 268, 275, 277

lièvre: 255, 271

cerf: 209, 266, 270

singe: 273, 274, 276

tigre: 204, 267, 269, 272, 279

lion: 204

dragon: 234, 236, 238, 240, 242, 243, 245, 247, 254

serpent: 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 253, 254, 262

couleurs

rouge: 7, bleu: 41, 248, jaune: 43, 246, 250, blanc: 56, 250, 255,

noir: 8, 42, 57, brun: 14, 40, 246, cinq couleurs: 44, 289

quantités

un: 23, deux: 258, quatre: 39, 43, cinq: 44, 214, 219, 289, cent: 4, 54, 66, 86, dix milles: 1, 114, beaucoup: 263, 271, tout: 22, 218

qualités

grand: 38, 52, 106, 108, 113, 300, 313

petit: 112

bon: 319

mauvais: 277
 haut: 104
 nouveau: 114, 120, 294
 égal: 218
 clair, limpide: 25, 113
 frais: 3
 constant: 119
 divers: 263

Certaines interprétations des songes se répètent plusieurs fois (p.ex. la joie se rencontre dans 77 interprétations) et leur variété apparaît moins riche que celles des songes:

bon: 12, 43, 122, 142, 228, 240, 248, 252, 254, 334
 bon après avoir été mauvais: 162
 joie: 7, 18, 19, 22, 28, 40, 41, 42, 44, 48, 58, 61, 63, 73, 77, 81, 87, 92, 96, 97, 102, 104, 107, 110, 113, 116, 127, 130, 133, 139, 141, 145, 152, 153, 156, 157, 159, 160, 165, 166, 170, 179, 180, 181, 188, 190, 193, 196, 201, 202, 209, 210, 213, 218, 219, 223, 224, 225, 226, 229, 235, 245, 275, 281, 287, 288, 293, 295, 299, 302, 304, 305, 313, 314, 319, 325, 328
 santé: 3, 5, 54, 75, 109, 146, 164, 171, 178, 184, 186, 215, 238, 279
 bonne femme: 20, 260, 322
 accord: 132, 172, 251
 jeune fille: 306
 naissance d'un fils ou d'une fille: 6, 24, 25, 27, 29, 33, 64, 85, 112, 120, 161, 232, 249, 300, 332
 frères: 120
 bonheur: 103, 265, 292, 297, 301
 profit: 39, 60, 78, 100, 108, 144, 183, 185, 194, 197, 214, 247, 270, 277
 gain des biens: 69, 106, 131, 143, 195, 199, 200, 205, 206, 208, 253, 283, 329
 gain des provisions: 50, 99, 121, 207
 gain des vêtements: 203, 221
 maison et bétail: 55
 devenir riche: 2, 15, 37, 192, 243
 longue vie, meilleure destinée, vertu: 35, 68, 72, 79, 83, 98, 117, 156, 222, 276
 succès: 1, 16, 46, 66, 114, 119, 149, 163, 255, 263, 268, 312, 327
 promotion, honneur, sagesse: 11, 17, 23, 31, 32, 47, 80, 82, 90, 105, 204, 216, 242, 257, 266, 269, 274, 286, 289, 290, 317, 331
 se délivrer des afflictions, de la calomnie etc.: 4, 86, 91, 241, 271, 285, 307, 310, 321
 merveille: 115, 244, 315

hôtes: 21, 191, 227, 259
 nouvelles, lettre: 187, 264, 284, 320
 voyage: 125, 212, 326
 déménagement: 59
 vendre la maison: 124
 nouveau seigneur: 294
 mauvais, malheur: 8, 10, 49, 57, 70, 71, 76, 93, 94, 128, 138,
 147, 167, 168, 233, 256, 272, 278, 303, 316, 323
 calomnie: 34, 74, 118, 137, 148, 151, 177, 182, 220, 246, 296, 298
 procès judiciaire: 88, 101, 123, 198, 237, 250, 258, 273
 échec: 9, 45, 111, 309, 324, 333
 déclin, perte des biens, sujétion: 26, 36, 67, 129, 234, 236
 frayeur: 267
 faiblesse: 280
 divorce: 134, 318
 guerre: 14, 30, 308
 maladie: 52, 62, 136, 154, 155, 158, 169, 175, 189, 211, 230,
 231, 239, 262, 282, 291
 souffrance: 38, 51, 65, 89, 135, 217
 pleurs: 330
 mort: 52, 53, 84, 95, 126, 140, 173, 176, 261, 311

Quant au rapport entre le songe et son interprétation, on trouve des analogies (ou parallélismes) synonymes ($f/x/=+y$) et antithétiques ($f/x/=-y$); dans la plupart des cas, ces analogies se rapportent aux images du monde du jour et appartiennent à l'ensemble des symboles de la pensée traditionnelle. Par exemple, le songe métaphorique (330) donne le parallélisme antithétique "coraux ou perles enfilés = pleurer" ou l'on voit l'analogie formelle des coraux ou des perles enfilés avec les larmes qui coulent, mais le corail et la perle, objets précieux et symboles de la richesse dans l'état de veille, indiquent un sens négatif pour l'état de sommeil. Aux "antinomies", également connues dans l'oniromancie des autres peuples appartiennent "mourir=longévité" ou "excrément=bonheur". Dans l'interprétation de certains songes on trouve les symboles soleil et lune employés en sens antithétique: à l'opposé de l'usage chinois (et sino-mongol) où le soleil symbolise en outre l'élément masculin et la lune indique l'élément féminin, ici la lune peut marquer le maître, le mari, tandis que le soleil exprime la femme (20), cependant ces symboles figurent dans plusieurs fonctions: les deux ensemble sont synonymes de la lumière ou de la grandeur, en même temps que de l'union nuptiale. L'étoile représente le destin de l'individu, le puits peut exprimer une restriction, le cheval - un bon augure, le boeuf - plutôt un effet malheureux (cf. la distinction mongole entre les bêtes à museau chaud et celles à museau froid; v. en outre chez VJATKINA, 'Mongoly MNR' in: Vostočno-aziatskij étnografičeskij sbornik, Moscou 1960, p. 240), le sang et l'excrément signifient quelque chose positive etc.

Dans les images de la dent tombée et des mains brisées qui annoncent le malheur dans la famille, on peut tracer le parallélisme symbolique entre les os et les membres de la famille.

Plusieurs songes de ce texte montrent une influence considérable du monde chinois d'où viennent p.ex. les dragons, le singe avec des fruits, le singe blanc, la porte du ciel, la Fleuve du ciel, la maison avec des hirondelles, le marché, les volailles, l'agriculture, les cinq sortes de céréales etc. qui figurent dans les images, ainsi que les titres et les rangs, promotion et les procès judiciaires qui se rencontrent dans les interprétations.

Liste des songes antithétiques: 50, 63, 66, 71, 80, 81, 82, 87, 94, 99, 105, 123, 124, 129, 131, 132, 133, 134, 138, 141, 150, 154, (?), 155, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 169, 170, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 183, 188, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 199, 200 (?), 201, 202, 203, 205, 208, 220, 230, 231, 237, 239, 253, 268, 278, 298, 299, 317, 329, 330, 334.

Transcription du texte

(Dans la transcription suivante g dénote gebel.)

(1) tngri ɣaʃar neyilbe gebel-e tümen kereg bütükü (2) tngri-eče ner-e daɣudaba gebel-e bayan bolqu (3) oɣtarɣui serigün bolba gebel-e ebečün arılqu (4) solongɣ-a bey-e-dür tusba gebel-e ʃuun ʃüil-ün ɣomadıl arılqu: (5) boroyan oroɣad geyibe gebel-e ebečün edegekü (6) ör-e cayıba gebel-e sayın köbegün törökü (7) tngri ularaba gebel-e bayar bolqu (8) tngri qaralaba gebel-e maɣu. (9) tngri nigedeb [?] gebel-e kereg ülü bütükü: (10) tngri nuraba gebel-e ečige eke-dür maɣu. (11) tngri-yin egüüden n[eggedeb]e gebel-e ner-e čolo nemekü. (12) tngri-yin ɣool-ıyar mori ugiyaba gebel-e sayın bolumui: (13) tngri dongɣodba gebel-e ner-e delgerekü. (14) tngri-yin egüden küring bolba gebel-e čirig ködölkü. (15) tngri deger-e ɣaraɣu [= ɣarču] üjibe gebel-e bayan bolqu: (16) tngri-yin ɣool-ıyar ɣaruba gebel-e alıba kereg bütükü. (17) tngri-dür nisün ɣaruba g . ner-e ʃerige nemikü. (18) quduŋ deger-e ɣarču tngri-yi üjibe gebel-e <ye> üčüken bayar (19) nara ɣaruɣad egülen ügei todorqai bolba g . yeke bayar. (20) naran tungɣalaɣ üjigdebe g . sayın gergei-tei bolqu (21) naran bayising deger-e ɣaruba gebel-e sayın jočid irimüi: (22) naran saran čöm ɣaraba gebel-e ger-dür bayar bolumui: (23) naran saran nigen odun-dur üjigdebe gebel-e ʃirege nemikü (24) naran saran neyilebe gebel-e

köbegün olqu. (25) naran saran-u genel todorqai bolba g . mergen köbegün törökü (26) naran saran deger-e bayin-a gebel-e ger-ün boıol-dur darıydaqu (27) naran saran emgübe gebel-e erkim köbegün törökü (28) naran saran odun-dur mörgübe g . eke bayar (29) naran saran öber-tür oroba g . sayin ökin törökü (30) sara-yi qarbuıu unaba gebel-e dayisun deyilekü (31) saran odun-dur odıba gebel-e čolo nemekü (32) nara-yi qaıar-ıyar barıba gebel-e ğirege labtan nemikü (33) odun qabar-dur oroba g . erkim köbegün törökü. (34) odun unaba g . qočin kele am-a irekü (35) odun sara metü genel-tei bolba g . nasu urtu bolumui (36) odun negübe gebel-e ömči qubıyaqu. (37) ğar-a-ıyar odun-i ergübe g . bayaııqu (38) yeke borıan salkin-dur dayarıydaba g . sanaı-a ğobaqu. (39) dörben ğüg-eče egüle ğaraba gebel-e oron-tai [= oroıa-tai] (40) küring egüle ğaraqıy-yi üııbe gebel-e ğun namur bayar irekü (41) köke egüle ğaraqıy-yi üııbe g . qabur bayar irekü (42) qar egüle ğaraqıy-yi üııbe g . ebül bayar irekü: (43) sir-a egüle ğaraqıy-yi üııbe g . dörben čay-tur sayin (44) tabun öngge-yin egüle üııbe g . yeke bayar (45) egüle salkin-dur keyisedebe g . kereg ülü bütükü (46) tngri ğaıar door-a-ača dongıodba g . sanaısan kerig bütükü (47) tngri bey-e-dür ayungı-a bayıba g . ner-e badaraqu (48) časun-dur dayarıydaba g . üčüken bayar. (49) tngri bürkübe g . bey-e-dür maıu: (50) ğam-dur yabuıu borıan-dur noraba g . aman-u künisü olqu (51) času bey-e-dür unaba g . ğobalang-tu bariıdaqu. (52) yeke času oroba g . ükül ğobalang bolumui. (53) času gerte obıalba g . ükül ğobalang bolqu. (54) kirayı bey-e-dür orıad arılba g . ğayun ğüil-ün ebečin arılqu (55) ğaıar töbsin g . ger mal nemekü. (56) ger-ün dotorki ğaıar čayan bolba g . eke inu ebedkü. (57) ğaıar-ača qar-a ayur degesi ğaraba gebel-e maıu: (58) kümün-eče siroi abıba g . yeke bayar. (59) ğaıar ködelbe g . ger negükü (60) šoroy-yi gerte abču irebe g . oroıitai bolqu. (61) ğaıar deger-e kebtebe g . em-e anu bayarlaqu. (62) öndür siroi deger-e yarıba g . ebečin ülü edegekü (63) ğaıar-un nükün-e saııba g . eke bayar: (64) siroi teberiged ayulan-u deger-e ğarba g . sayin köbegün törökü. (65) gerte nüke maltaba g . eke anu ğobaqu: (66) bey-e siroi-dur oroba gebel-e ğayun ğüil-ün kerig debsirikü: (67) bey-e-dür siroi maltaba g . kümün-dür darılaydaqu: (68) burıan kümün-luı-a üge kelelııbe g . ğıayı-a nemikü: (69) ıal usu g . ed oldaqu. (70) burıan dayun ese yarıba g . maıu: (71) tngri-eče burıan bayıba g . gerte maıu. (72) burıan dayıdaba g . eke buyan ğıayı-a nemekü: (73) sideten-e ayulııba g . gerün eıın bayar-dai. (74) šabar burıan kürtebe g . kele am-a bolqu (75) nom ungsıba g . ebečin-ü üngdüsü tasurayı: (76) burıan čidkür-tei ğodaldaba g . maıu. (77) burıan bodısadu-a-yi üııbe g . eke bayar. (78) burıan takıba g . bayar oroıitai: (79) burıan kölčin-dei dayılaldıba g . nasu nemekü. (80) toloıai čısu yarıba g . ğerge nemekü. (81) silmus kölčin-dei ayulııba g . eke bayar-tai (82) toloıai oıtulıı abačıba g . kündülegdekü: (83) küıi ğıla barıba g . ğıayı-a nemikü. (84) toloıai deger-e eber urııba g . ükükü: (85) bey-e nom ungsıba g . ači ür-e eligesikü: (86) toloıai uııyaba g . ğayun ğüil-ün nomodal tasurqu (87) ünesen-dür saııba g . eke bayar: (88) kümün-ü toloıay-yi oıtulun abıba g . kerig tariqu (89) üsü čayıba g . ači ür-e-yin tula ğobaqu: (90) toloıai deger-e dumdayur eber urııba g . noyan bolqu: (91) üsü uııyaba g . nomdal arılqu (92) dalabči urııba g . y[e]ke bayar: (93) üsü qayıčilayılba g . maıu (94) bey-e tarılaba g . maıu

(95) sidü unaba g eçige eke ükükü: (96) kümün niçügün üjigdege gebel-e y[e]ke bayar (97) aman-aça unğası urıuba g yeke bayar bolqu. (98) bayising deger-e bayising barıba g . buyan nemekü. (99) aman-u-aça çısu yaraba g arikey miq-a oldaqu: (100) aylan-u deger-e ayula urıuba g yadasi yabubal-a oljıtai. (101) sidü büllei yaraba g jarıu keyikü: (102) aylan-du kümün büküy-yi üjibe gebel-e yeke bayar: (103) ayula-yin oi sıyui-dur yabubai g : oljıtei: (104) qola-aça öndür ayula üjigdebe g yeke bayar: (105) ayula-dur yabuıu ayubai g jerge nemikü: (106) yeke çılayu ayuljıba g ed irkü: (107) aylan-dur yabubai g bayar nemekü: (108) yeke çılayu talbııu bayın-a g joıos mönggü-[n]ü oron erekü: (109) aylan-u öber-dü yabubai g ebeçin-ü ündüsü arılqu. (110) çılayuu-yi gerte abaçıba g bayar bolqu: (111) bayising deger-e ayula urıuba g : kerig ülü bütükü. (112) ger-tür bay-a çılayun barıba g olan köbegün-dei bolqu: (113) yeke usun tungyalay bolba g masi yeke bayar: (114) usu sin-e urusba: g tümen kereg bütükü (115) usu urusçu yeke dayun yaraba g : irayı üge sonostaqu. (116) kögergen-ü deger-e yaraba g yeke bayar irikü. (117) yang-a usun urusba g nasun urtu bolqu (118) kögerge tasuraba g kele am-a bolqu (119) nayır-un usun tasural ügei urasba g yeke kerig bütükü: (120) sin-e kögerge jasaba: g aq-a degüü-luy-a uçırqu (121) yool ketülbe g arikey miq-a <olqu> oldaqu: (122) jıgeli-yin yajar arikey ayuba g sayın bui: (123) usu urusquy-yi üjibe g jarıu keyikü bui: (124) er-e em-e qoyayula jıgeli-yin yajar odba g bayising-ıyan qudaldıqu (125) tal-a yajar kümün ügei g qola yajar: yabuqu. (126) qoyar yar quyaraba g aq-a degüü ükümüi. (127) jıgeli-yin yajar oroba g yeke bayar. (128) er-e em-e niçügün g mayu bui (129) jıgeli-eçe yaraba g ed tarqaqu. (130) ekener kümün niçügün g yeke bayar. (131) yarun quruyun-aça çısu yaraba g ed olqu. (132) er-e em-e qoyayula jodaldaba g eyeldeg bolqu (133) bükü bey-e-eçe çısu nöji yaraba g masi eke bayar (134) er-e em-e qoyayula noir-saba g salqu-yin temdeg. (135) yarun quruyun quyaraba g açi ür-e-dü jobalang bolqu: (136) er-e em-e qoyayula çuugildaba gebel-e öbeçin irekü (137) aq-a degüü salba g kele am-a bolqu (138) ekiner kümün-lüge yabuldıba g mayu (139) aq-a degüü usu ayuba g yeke bayar bolqu (140) öber-ün em-e öber-e er-e-dü içibe g em-e ükükü (141) aq-a degüü jodaldaba g yeke bayar: (142) ekener kümün er-e bolba g sayın bui (143) ekener kümün-lüge qamtu odba g ed oldaqu (144) er-e em-e-ben teberçi bayın-a g yeke orojıtai (145) ekiner kümün-ni teberibe g bayar kerig bolqu (146) köbegün töröbe g ebeçin amur bolumui (147) ekiner kümün kölçin-tei qanılab g yeke mayu (148) bay-a keüked iniyebe g kile am-a bolqu (149) keüken beyeben jasaba g qamuy kereg bütükü (150) öber-ün bey-e ükübe g nasu urtu bolqu (151) keüked ükübe g kele am-a dayarıqu. (152) buyantan-luy-a üge kelelçebeı g yeke bayar (153) qayan dayudaba g genedte bayar bolqu (154) kümün-tei ügüelçin [?, ms: 'wy' kwylçyn] yabulçıba g ebçin erekü mayad (155) noyan üküged dayudaba g ebeçin irkü (156) öberün bey-e ügegüü yadayuu g yeke bayar. (157) qayan tüsimel g yeke bayar (158) noyan-i nidü-ber üjibe g bey-e amur bolqu ügei (159) wang-yi üjibe g yeke bayar. (160) sayın sidartu yeke noyan irebe g bayar bolqu (161) qola-yin geyiçin irebe g köbegün törökü. (162) bey-e-ben ber-e-ber jodaba g urıda mayu qoyın-a sayın

(163) kümün-dü mörgübe g aliba kereg bütükü (164) ğigeli-dür yabuğu okilba g bey-e töbsin bolqu (165) kümün ğadan-a-ağa dağudaba g yeke bayar (166) yeke dağun-iyar okilba g sedkil bayarlaqu (167) em-e kümün gerte irebe g mağu (168) oron değer-e okilaba g mağu (169) em-e kümün dağudaba g ebeğin irekü (170) okilaba g yeke bayar. (171) gerte qurim keyibe g ebeğin-ü ündüsü arilqu. (172) öber değer-e yatuğ-a talbığu bayin-a [g] er-e em-e eyetei bolqu (173) gerte dağulba gebel-e ükül bolqu (174) ebeğitü kümün em ağuuba g ebeğin arilqu. (175) ğar-ıyan alğadan dağulba g ebeğin irekü. (176) ebeğitü kümün bosğu yabuba g ükükü (177) öber-ün bey-e dağulba g kele am-a erekü (178) ebeğitü kümün niğügün bayin-a g ebeğin arilqu. (179) narin bisikeğür tataba g bayar kereg irekü. (180) üküğsen kümün-tei. budağ-a edebe g yeke bayar. (181) usun değer-e dağulba g yeke bayar (182) üküğsen kümün okilaba g kele am-a bolqu (183) üküğsen kümün ünür-tei g olğa olqu. (184) ğar köl uğiyaba g qağuğın qanıy-a arilaqu (185) üküğsen kümün-eğe ğisu ğaruba g oroğıtai. (186) bey-e uğiyaba g qamuğ ebeğin arilmui (187) üküğsen kümün amidu oroba g qola-ağa beğig irekü. (188) debel değer-e köğesü körebe gebel-e yeke bayar. (189) üküğsen kümün iniyebe g türğen ebeği irekü. (190) bayising nemeğü baraba [= bariba] g yeke bayar (191) üküğsen kümün absan-ağa qariba [=?ğaraba] g ğeyiğin irekü: (192) bağasu düğürebe g bayan bolqu: (193) üküğsen kümün-ni teberin okilaba g yeke bayar (194) kümün bağasu öğrebe g yeke oroğıtai (195) bağasun-tur yabuba g ed olqu (196) kituğ-a-bar kümün-ni alaba g bağ-a bayar (197) bağasu damnağu gerte oroba g . yeke oroğıtai. (198) kümün-dür mağulağduba g ğarğu-dai bolqu (199) bağasu singgen [?] oboğalaba g ed quriyaqu. (200) kituğ-a-bar eber-ıyen ükübe g ed olqu (201) kümün-ni alaba g yeke bayar bolqu. (202) toloğai tasurba g yeke bayar. (203) kümün-dür ğangğırdaba g debel olqu (204) baras arabaslani [!] alaba g dabqur tamağ-a olqu (205) kümün-dür ğangğırdan tabsıgdaba g ed olqu (206) üker-yi alaba g ed olqu (207) tuğul elğige mori idebe g ariki künesü olqu (208) tariy-a-[n]u dotor-a ebesü urğuba g ed oldaqu (200) buğu suğu-yi alaba g yeke bayar (210) bayising ba tariy-a-ban qudalduba g yeke bayar. (211) ğaqai alaba qoni ğodaba g bey-e ebedkü (212) öberün bey-e tariy-a tariba g qola ğam-du yabuqu (213) ğaqay-yi ğulğığ-a alaba g yeke bayar (214) tabun ğüil-ün tariy-a delğerebe g yeke bayar oroğıtai (215) takiy-a nuğusu ğalağu alaba g ebeği amurliqu (216) tariy-a quriyaba g öber-ün bey-e debsidkü. (217) sibayun ba bilğuuqay-yi alaba g ğobalang irkü. (218) tariy-a ğom tengsi[?] bolba g yeke bayar (219) tabun ğüil-ün tariy-a oboğulba g eke bayar. (220) kümün arikei ağuği bayin-a g kele aman bolqu (221) ğar-dur tariy-a bariba g emüsüğsen quğğasu nemekü (222) kümün urığu arakei öğbe g ami nasu urtu bolqu (223) budağ-a-[n]u değer-e sağuba g masi yeke bayar. (224) erkem kümün-tei budağ-a edebe g yeke bayar (225) bayising değer-e tariy-a urğuba g darui debsikü bayar (226) usu ağuba g yeke bayar (227) kümün-ıyer tariy-a ğuyılağan [?, ms: kwy'l'ı'n] tariba. g qola-yin kümün erekü (228) qonin-u miq-a idebe [g] sayin bui. (229) kümün qurimlaldaba g yeke bayar. (230) qituğ-a-bar [!] ğaqay-u [!] miq-a-yi orğulaba g ebedkü (231) ğaqay-yin miq-a idebe g

ebedkü (232) čibaγ-a ba sadi modu idebe g . erkem köbegün törökü (233) tūūkei miq-a edebe g maγu (234) luu quduŋ-du unaba g noyan-du buruγu irekü (235) boluγsan miq-a edebe g yeke bayar (236) luu ūkübe g ŷerge aldaqu (237) noqay-yin miq-a edebe g ŷarγu bolqu. (238) luu tngri-dü γarba g bey-e sayin bolqu (239) nuγusu-yin miq-a g baγ-a em-e ebedkü. (240) luu-yi unuba g aliba kereg-dü sayin (241) mantau idebe g kele am-a arilaqu. (242) luu qubilji bayin-a g yeke kümün-dür erigüγdekü (243) altan luu gebel-e yeke bayaγaqu. (244) moγai. köl-dei[=dēr] orayaba g γayiqamsiγ kereg sonostaqu. (245) luu moγai egüden-dür oroba g yeke bayar (246) moγai küring sir-a ūjigdebe. g kele am-a bolqu. (247) luu moγai tulγan-dur oroba g yeke oroŷitai. (248) moγai köke ūjigdebe. g sayin bolqu (249) moγai köke ūjigdebe. g sayin bolqu (249) moγai bey-e-yi oriyaba. g sayin köbegün törökü (250) moγai sir-a buyu čayan buyu g ŷarγu-dai bolqu (251) moγai bey-e-yi daγudaba. g em-e-yin sedkil sayin bolqu (252) toγos sibuu nisün ködelbe g belge-dei sayin (253) moγai jiyuba g ed olqu. (254) moγai luu qubilji bayin-a g aliba kereg-dü sayin (255) čayan taulai daγun γaruba g sayin kerig bütükü. (256) takiy-a gerte oraba g maγu (257) qatun qarayači gerte egürlebe g ŷerge nemekü. (258) qoyar sibuu jodaliduba g ŷarγu bolqu. (259) qatun qarayači gerte oraba g qola-yin jöčid irekü (260) γalaγu nuγusu daγalčin yabuba g sayin em-e nemejü abuqu. (261) lam-a sibuu salba g em-e inu ūkükü. (262) moγay-yi jiyuba g bey-e tengčirekü. (263) ildeb jüilün olan sibuu neyilen [ms: 'nyl'n] nisbe g olan kerig bütükü (264) sibuu-yi bariba g qola-ača čimege erekü (265) saγajiyai daγuu γaraba gebel-e olja olqu ölji (266) görögesü g ner-e badarqu. (267) baras bakerabe. g yeke sočiku[!] (268) quluγun-a debel jiyuba g sanaγsan kerig bütükü: (269) baras unaba gebel-e maγu ner-e arilaqu. (270) buγu gerte oraba g oroŷitai. (271) olan taulai g jöbalang arilqu (272) baris-yi jangčiba g maγu (273) sarmačin g ŷarγu bolqu. (274) čayan sarmačün g ŷerge nemekü (275) quluγun-a ŷarγulba g oroŷitai bayar (276) saramčin jimes bariji bayin-a g nasun buyan nemekü (277) maγu. quluγan-a-yi bariba g oroŷitai (278) subud qas olba g maγu (279) kümün-dü ed ögbe g ebečin arilaqu (280) nom sudur kümün-dü buliyarɔdaba g čidal ügey-yin temdeg (281) qoolai olba g eke bayar (282) jiyay-a-yi boduba gebel-e ebedkü (283) temür-ün jüil olba g ed olqu (284) dangsa qaγaba g qola-yin üge irekü. (285) siügei abbara olba gebel-e kele am-a arilqu (286) nom bičig daγudaquy-yi ūjibe g mergen bolqu. (287) qaš ayaγ-a olba g yeke bayar (288) nom jiyaba gebel-e yeke bayar. (289) tabun öngge-yin nom-un čaγasu olba g uqaγan nemekü (290) bečig tamaγ-a g ner-e badarqu. (291) ketuγ-a usun-du unaba g em-e inu ebedkü (292) egüden sökebe gebel-e öljiŷitei. (293) ketuγ-a bariju qola jam-du yabuba g yeke bayar. (294) sin-e gerte oraba g sin-e noyan erekü. (295) kituγ-a-yi beligüdebe g eke bayar. (296) alčuur ūjibe g kele am-a bolqu (297) kümün-eče kituγ-a süke abuba g öljiŷitei. (298) šaŷing saba g kel-e am-a bolqu (299) ekener kümün kituγ-a jegüjü bayin-a g eke bayar. (300) egüden yeke bolba g erdemtei köbegün törökü (301) kituγ-a qayiči-bar yaγum-a orɔtalaba g öljiŷitei. (302) egüden balbaraba gebel-e yeke bayar. (303) gerte kümün ügei g maγu. (304)

qoni üker kötelji yabuba g yeke bayar (305) aɣulan-u deger-e üker-i qaraba g yeke bayar (306) mori gerte oraba g keüken kümün-e yabuldaqu (307) üker egüden-eçe ɣaraba g ɟarɣu tusarqu (308) morin-du joɣos açıba g çirig tataqu. (309) üker usun-aça ɣaraba g kerig bütükü ügei (310) mori gerte oraba g aliba maɣu kerig arilqu (311) üker gerte oroba g ükül-ün yoru-a bui. (312) morin-u emigel-ten[?] degegür açıba g aliba kerig bütükü (313) yeke üker kötelji aɣulan-du ɣaraba g yeke bayar (314) mori mingɣan-u ɣaɟar yabuba g yeke bayar uçırqu (315) mori eber urɣuba g ɣayıqamsıɣ kerig ɣarqu (316) toli genel ügei g maɣu. (317) mori bey-e-yi ɟıɣuba g buyan ɟerge nemekü (318) toli qayaraba g er-e em-e salqu. (319) sayın mori-yi üjibe g yeke bayar (320) tolin-dur bey-e üjigdebe g qola-aça çimege erikü. (321) ɣaqai gerte oraba g ɟarɣu kerig arilqu. (322) toli olba g sayın em-e olqu. (323) ada usu kümün-lüge üge kelelçibe g yeke maɣu. (324) sam sidü ügei g kerig amur tokiraqu ügei (325) toli gereltei gebel-e eke bayar. (326) mönggü altan ködelebe g qola ɣaɟar yabuqu (327) qudung usu dügürbe g kerig bütükü. (328) erdeni-yın ɟüil olba g yeke bayar. (329) qudung-un dotoraça sabar ergüjü ɣaraba g ed olqu (330) siru subud kilkiy-e-dei g okilamu. (331) qudung-un dottor-a bey-e üjigdebe g ɟerge nemekü (332) altan mönggün qungday-a g sayın köbegün törökü (333) egüden qayaju bayın-a g . kerig bütükü ügei:: (334) ekener kümün-ü emüde tayılaɟu üjibe g ması sayın.

Traduction abrégée

Je ne donne ici qu'une interprétation sommaire des phrases mongoles. Leur structure est assez simple: l'image figure comme l'objet de l'adverbe conditionnel gebel(e) "si l'on dit" que j'ai indiqué ici par le signe d'égalité; l'explication du songe consiste soit en termes qualitatifs, soit en proposition avec un prédicat de nom de futur ou d'un verbe fini. Le prédicat de l'image se manifeste surtout comme une forme verbale, 'praeteritum perfecti', il est parfois le présent simple (bayına) ou composé (adv. imperfecti + bayına), parfois il est terminé par le verbe üjibe "avoir vu". Par exemple, selon (1) "si l'on dit [que l'on a vu en sommeil] que le ciel et la terre s'unissaient, [cela signifie] l'accomplissement de dix milles affaires"; je le rends comme suit: "ciel et terre unis = accomplissement de dix milles affaires"; selon (7) "si l'on dit [que l'on a vu en sommeil] que le ciel rougissait, [cela signifie que] l'on aura une joie"; je le rends par la formule "ciel rouge = joie"; en fait, il s'agit ici des fonctions de la forme "si (x), c'est que (y)".

(1) ciel et terre unis = accomplissement de dix milles affaires

(2) son [propre] nom appelé par le ciel = devenir riche

- (3) l'air devenu frais = relever de la maladie
- (4) arc-en-ciel qui touche le corps = se délivrer de cent sortes d'affliction
[= de toutes afflictions]
- (5) s'éclaircir après la pluie = se guérir
- (6) l'aube arrivée = naissance d'un bon fils
- (7) ciel rouge = joie
- (8) ciel noir = mauvais
- (9) ciel ouvert = échec — le verbe niged- "s'unir" serait ici bizarre; peut-être doit-on lire negegde- "s'ouvrir" (l'ordos negde- "devenir plus intense" < nengde- ne donnerait pas un sens acceptable dans la phrase en question)
- (10) ciel écroulé = mal pour les parents
- (11) la porte du ciel s'ouvre = célébrité — cf. chin. t'ien-men, la partie du ciel entre les deux étoiles de la constellation Kiao, cf. MOROHASI 5833:1419
- (12) laver un cheval dans le Fleuve du ciel = ce sera bon — tngri-yin yool au lieu de tngri-yin oyodal ou t. ɣaɣaɣ correspond au chin. t'ien-houo "la Voie lactée"
- (13) tonnerre = devenir célèbre
- (14) la porte du ciel devenue brune = guerre — v.(11)
- (15) monter au ciel = devenir riche — au lieu de ɣaraɣu on pourrait lire qara- "regarder", mais ceci donnerait un contresens. Pour le thème secondaire ɣara- au lieu de ɣar- "sortir" cf. ɣaraba (39,99,101) et ɣaraqui (40-43) etc.
- (16) traverser le Fleuve du Ciel = accomplissement de n'importe quelle affaire — v. (12)
- (17) s'envoler jusqu'au ciel = promotion (titre ou rang)
- (18) monter sur un puits et voir le ciel = petite joie — le puits constitue une valeur de limitation; quant au qudung au lieu de quduɣ, qudduy "puits", il est possible qu'il s'agisse ici d'une forme dialectale, v. encore (234) etc.
- (19) ciel clair, sans nuages après le lever du soleil = grande joie
- (20) voir le soleil brillant [m.à m.: transparent] = recevoir une bonne épouse
- (21) soleil levé sur la maison = hôtes bienvenus — cf. le songe de Dei Sečen dans l'Histoire secrète
- (22) soleil et lune levés ensemble = joie dans la maison
- (23) soleil et lune parus auprès de la même étoile = promotion
- (24) soleil et lune réunis = naissance d'un fils — cf. (25)
- (25) la lumière du soleil et de la lune devient claire = naissance d'un fils sage — cf. (24)
- (26) soleil sur la lune = être opprimé par les servants de la famille — en fait, la première phrase est ambiguë, on pourrait la traduire comme suit: (a) le soleil est sur la lune, (b) on est sur le soleil ou sur la lune, (c) le soleil et la lune sont en haut, toutefois la partie droite de l'équation suggère l'interprétation indiquée (a)

- (27) prendre le soleil et la lune dans la bouche = naissance d'un excellent fils — cf. (29)
- (28) soleil et lune baissés devant une étoile = grande joie
- (29) soleil et lune entrés dans le sein = naissance d'une bonne fille — cf. (27), (33); en outre, öber-tür oro- est aussi un terme euphémique pour le coïtus
- (30) lune abattue = victoire de l'ennemi
- (31) lune qui se meut vers une étoile = élévation à un titre
- (32) soleil saisi par une bride = promotion sûre
- (33) étoile entrée dans le nez = naissance d'un excellent fils — cf. (29)
- (34) étoile tombée = calomnie
- (35) étoile qui brille comme la lune = longue vie
- (36) étoile filante = distribuer la fortune
- (37) étoile levée par la main = devenir riche
- (38) être frappé d'un grand orage = s'inquiéter
- (39) nuages apparus des quatre régions du ciel = profit
- (40) apparition d'un nuage brun = joie pendant l'été et pendant l'automne
- (41) apparition d'un nuage bleu = joie au printemps
- (42) apparition d'un nuage noir = joie en hiver
- (43) apparition d'un nuage jaune = bon pendant les quatre saisons
- (44) un nuage de cinq couleurs = grande joie
- (45) nuage dispersé par le vent = échec
- (46) tonnerre du dessous de la terre = accomplissement de l'affaire désirée
- (47) foudre tombée sur son propre corps = devenir célèbre
- (48) être couvert de neige = petite joie
- (49) ciel couvert = mauvais pour soi-même (pour celui qui le voit en songe)
- (50) être trempé par la pluie en chemin = recevoir des provisions — amun-u künisü "rate par tête"
- (51) neige tombée sur le corps = souffrance
- (52) beaucoup de neige = mort et souffrance
- (53) amasser la neige dans la maison = mort et souffrance
- (54) givre tombé sur le corps et disparu = fin des cent [= toutes] maladies
- (55) terre égale = enrichissement (maison et bétail)
- (56) le sol de la maison devient blanc = maladie de la mère
- (57) vapeur noire qui sort de la terre = mauvais
- (58) recevoir de la poussière de qq = grande joie
- (59) tremblement de terre = déménagement
- (60) terre (sol) apportée à la maison = profit
- (61) être couché sur la terre = joie pour la femme (de celui qui a vu ce songe)
- (62) monter sur un terrain élevé = maladie qui ne guérit pas
- (63) être assis dans une fosse = grande joie
- (64) monter, avec une brassée de poussière, sur une montagne = naissance d'un bon fils
- (65) creuser un trou (une fosse) à la maison = souffrance de la mère

- (66) avoir son propre corps dans la poussière = progrès de cent affaires
- (67) poussière jetée sur son propre corps = être opprimé par qq
- (68) Bouddha qui parle avec qq = meilleure destinée
- (69) feu et eau = obtenir des biens
- (70) Bouddha qui se tait = mauvais
- (71) Bouddha qui descend du ciel = du mal à la maison
- (72) être appelé par le Bouddha = grande vertu [= bonheur], meilleure destinée
- (73) rencontre avec des magiciens = joie pour le maître de la maison
- (74) recevoir une statue du Bouddha faite en argile (ou: toucher une statue etc., ou: boue qui adhère à la statue du Bouddha) = calomnie
- (75) lire un livre = la racine de la maladie sera déchirée (= se guérir) — livre en général ou livre religieux? cf. (85)
- (76) Bouddha qui se bat avec un diable = mauvais — chez les Khalkhas le mot en question, *čötgör*, signifie surtout un revenant; cf. (79)
- (77) voir des Bouddhas ou des bodhisattvas = grande joie
- (78) sacrifice au Bouddha = joie et profit
- (79) Bouddha qui se bat avec un démon = l'étendue de la vie augmentera (= longévité); cf. (76)
- (80) saignement de la tête = promotion
- (81) rencontrer des démons et des diables = grande joie (m.à m.: très joyeux) — *šilmus*, forme vulgaire de l'ancien *šimnus*, pluriel, attesté, déjà au XVII^e siècle, sous la forme de *šilmus*; ord. *šulmu* "esprit malfaisant qui prend une forme humaine ou une forme animale" etc., *šulmus* id. (MOSTAERT), khal. *šulam*; ord. *gölčün* "espèce de démon" (MOSTAERT)
- (82) on porte sa tête décollée = hommage
- (83) tenir l'encens et la lampe = meilleure destinée
- (84) corne qui pousse sur la tête = mourir
- (85) lire un livre = l'amour filial des petits-fils — bey-e "soi-même"; eligesi- = eligesiye- "aimer tendrement (ses parents, ses proches, ses amis), être sincèrement dévoué" (KOW.I,207)
- (86) laver la tête = se délivrer de cent sortes d'affliction
- (87) être assis sur la cendre = grande joie
- (88) décoller et porter la tête de qq = désagréments
- (89) cheveux blancs = s'alarmer pour ses petits-fils
- (90) corne qui pousse au centre de la tête = devenir seigneur
- (91) laver les cheveux = se délivrer de l'affliction
- (92) aile poussée = grande joie
- (93) se faire tailler des cheveux = mauvais
- (94) s'engraisser = mauvais
- (95) dent tombée = mort des parents
- (96) apparition d'un homme nu = grande joie
- (97) laine poussée de la bouche = grande joie

- (98) construire une maison sur une autre = la vertu s'accroîtra
- (99) sang de la bouche = obtenir de l'eau-de-vie et de la viande
- (100) montagne poussée sur une autre = profit au cas si l'on sort — pour radasi cf. ord. gadaši, gadagši "vers l'extérieur" (MOSTAERT)
- (101) dent et gencive poussées (ou: gencive poussée sur les dents) = intenter un procès — buyili au lieu de buyila, cf. ord. buila, buil, būli (MOSTAERT); keyi- pour mong. ki-, dial. kī- etc.
- (102) voir qq sur une montagne = grande joie
- (103) marcher dans la forêt d'une montagne = bonheur (ou, si olji-tai: "gain des biens")
- (104) grande montagne vue de loin = grande joie
- (105) être effrayé en montant sur une montagne = promotion
- (106) rencontrer une grande pierre = biens à recevoir
- (107) marcher dans les montagnes = la joie s'accroîtra
- (108) poser une grande pierre = gain d'argent
- (109) marcher sur le versant méridional d'une montagne = la racine de la maladie disparaît (= guérir)
- (110) apporter une pierre à la maison = joie
- (111) montagne qui a poussé sur (le toit de) la maison = échec
- (112) tenir des petites pierres à la maison = avoir beaucoup de fils
- (113) grande eau devenue limpide = grande joie
- (114) nouveau cours d'eau = accomplissement de dix milles affaires
- (115) eau qui coule avec un grand bruit = entendre des mots harmonieux (= agréables)
- (116) monter sur un pont = grande joie dans l'avenir — cf. ord. kōrgö "pont" (MOSTAERT), pour le même sens le khalkha possède les mots gūr, gūreg
- (117) eau qui coule dans un précipice = longue vie
- (118) pont écroulé = calomnie
- (119) eau d'un lac qui coule sans cesse = une affaire importante (m.à m.: grande affaire) s'accomplira
- (120) construire un nouveau pont = rencontre avec des frères
- (121) traverser une rivière = obtenir de l'eau-de-vie et de la viande
- (122) boire de l'eau-de-vie sur le marché = bon
- (123) eau coulante = intenter un procès
- (124) homme et femme sur le marché = vendre sa maison
- (125) prairie déserte = voyage au loin
- (126) fracture des deux mains = mort des frères
- (127) aller sur le marché = grande joie
- (128) homme et femme nus = mauvais
- (129) sortir du marché = dissiper les biens
- (130) femme nue = grande joie
- (131) sang des doigts de la main = obtenir des biens
- (132) homme et femme qui se battent = être d'accord (ou: se réconcilier)

- (133) sang et caillot de sang sortant de toutes les parties du corps = très grande joie
- (134) homme et femme qui se couchent ensemble = divorce — temdeg "signe, augure"
- (135) fracture des doigts de la main = souffrance des descendants
- (136) homme et femme qui se querellent = maladie — pour čuugildu- (ici čuugilda-), cf. ord. čūgilda- (MOSTAERT)
- (137) séparation des frères = calomnie
- (138) faire l'amour avec une femme mariée = mauvais
- (139) frères qui boivent de l'eau = grande joie
- (140) sa propre femme mariée à un autre homme = mort de la femme
- (141) frères qui se battent = grande joie
- (142) femme, transformée en homme = bon — cf. 'Bodhicaryāvatāra'
- (143) aller avec une femme = obtenir des biens
- (144) homme qui embrasse sa femme = grand profit
- (145) embrasser une femme mariée = affaire joyeuse — cf. (138)!
- (146) naissance d'un fils = amélioration (de la santé)
- (147) femme mariée en bon termes avec un démon = grand malheur
- (148) petit enfant qui rit = calomnie
- (149) jeune fille qui met des parures = toutes les affaires s'accomplissent — cf. ord. bèyēⁿ ĵasa- "se parer, mettre des parures (femmes)" (MOSTAERT)
- (150) se voir soi-même mort = longue vie
- (151) enfant mort = calomnie
- (152) parler avec des bienheureux = grande joie
- (153) être appelé par l'empereur = joie inattendue
- (154) aller en parlant (?) avec qq = maladie
- (155) être appelé par le seigneur défunt = maladie
- (156) être pauvre = grande joie
- (157) roi et ministre = grande joie
- (158) voir le seigneur en personne = la santé ne s'améliorera pas
- (159) voir le wang = grande joie
- (160) arrivée d'un grand seigneur avec des pages éminents = joie — cf. ord. šidar "personne de confiance qui vit dans l'intimité d'une personne de haut rang" (MOSTAERT)
- (161) arrivée d'un hôte qui vient de loin = naissance d'un fils
- (162) donner des coups de verge à soi-même = bon après être mauvais
- (163) faire la révérence à qq = n'importe quelle affaire s'accomplira
- (164) pleurer en marchant sur le marché = retrouver la santé
- (165) être appelé par qq de dehors = grande joie
- (166) pleurer d'une voix forte = joie pour l'âme
- (167) femme qui entre dans la maison = mauvais
- (168) pleurer sur le lit = mauvais
- (169) être appelé par une femme = maladie
- (170) pleurer = grande joie

- (171) noce à la maison = la racine de la maladie disparaît — cf. ord. xorim ki- "célébrer une noce" (MOSTAERT)
- (172) cithare placée sur son propre corps = accord entre le mari et la femme
- (173) chanter à la maison = mourir
- (174) malade qui boit un médicament = guérir
- (175) applaudir et chanter = maladie
- (176) malade qui se lève et marche = mourir
- (177) chanter (en personne) = calomnie
- (178) malade nu = guérir
- (179) jouer du flageolet fin = affaire joyeuse dans l'avenir
- (180) manger du riz bouilli avec qq mort = grande joie
- (181) chanter au dessus de l'eau (d'un lac etc.) = grande joie
- (182) mort qui pleure = calomnie
- (183) mort qui sent mauvais = faire du profit
- (184) laver la main (et le pied) = disparition de l'indisposition — cf. ord. gar köl "les mains et les pieds; aussi: les mains, les bras" (MOSTAERT), khal. gar xöl id., ord. xanādu, xanāt "petite maladie, indisposition", xanā- "tousse" (MOSTAERT), khal. xaniād "toux"; même qaḡučin "ancien, vieux" peut dénoter une maladie chronique
- (185) mort qui saigne = profit
- (186) se baigner = toutes les maladies disparaîtront
- (187) mort qui retourne à la vie = lettre qui vient de loin
- (188) écume gelée sur le vêtement = grande joie
- (189) mort qui rit = maladie aigue
- (190) agrandir la maison = grande joie
- (191) mort qui sort du cercueil = arrivée d'un hôte
- (192) porter de l'excrément = devenir riche — cf. ord. dūr- "porter qc à cheval, soit devant soi, soit derrière soi, soit entre les bras" (MOSTAERT)
- (193) pleurer en embrassant un mort = grande joie
- (194) excrément soulevé par qq = grand profit — örge- = ergü-
- (195) marcher dans l'excrément = obtenir des biens
- (196) tuer qq avec un couteau = petite joie
- (197) excrément apporté à la maison à l'aide du bâton d'épaule = grand profit
- (198) être maudit par qq = avoir un procès
- (199) amasser de l'excrément et de l'urine = amasser des biens — cf. ord. šingen "urine (par euphémisme)" (MOSTAERT)
- (200) percer une callosité (?) avec un couteau = obtenir des biens
- (201) tuer qq = grande joie
- (202) avoir la tête tranchée = grande joie
- (203) être maltraité par qq = obtenir un [^]vêtement (habit long)
- (204) tuer un tigre ou un lion = recevoir un double sceau (=promotion)
- (205) être maltraité par qq = obtenir des biens — cf. (203)
- (206) tuer un boeuf = obtenir des biens

- (207) manger des veaux, des ânes ou des chevaux = obtenir de l'eau-de-vie et des provisions — la première partie est ambiguë; on pourrait également choisir le veau pour le sujet de la phrase
- (208) herbe poussée dans le blé = obtenir des biens
- (209) tuer des cerfs = grande joie
- (210) vendre la maison et le champ = grande joie
- (211) battre des cochons ou des moutons = maladie
- (212) semer (en personne) = voyage au loin
- (213) tuer un cochonnet = grande joie
- (214) les cinq sortes de céréales s'épanouissent = grande joie, profit
- (215) tuer des poules, des canards et des oies = guérir
- (216) récolter du blé = promotion
- (217) tuer des oiseaux et des passereaux = souffrance — cf. ord. biljūxā "petit oiseau" (MOSTAERT)
- (218) blé poussé régulièrement (?) = grande joie — čom tengsi: probablement pour čom tegsi
- (219) les cinq sortes de céréales amassées = grande joie
- (220) qq buvant de l'eau-de-vie = calomnie
- (221) blé tenu dans la main = vêtement de plus
- (222) être appelé par qq qui donne de l'eau-de-vie = longue vie
- (223) être assis sur le riz bouilli = très grande joie
- (224) manger du riz bouilli avec un homme distingué = grande joie
- (225) blé qui a poussé sur la maison = joie d'une promotion soudaine
- (226) boire de l'eau = grande joie
- (227) faire semer qq [...] = qq qui vient de loin
- (228) manger de la viande de mouton = bon
- (229) les noces de qq autre = grande joie
- (230) couper la viande de porc avec un couteau = maladie
- (231) manger de la viande de porc = maladie
- (232) manger du jujube et de l'arbre (!) de la noix muscade = naissance d'un excellent fils — sadi: forme dialectale pour le mong. jati (< indo-tib.), kalm. zati (RAMSTEDT), khal. ɜadi
- (233) manger de la viande crue = mauvais
- (234) dragon tombé dans un puits = disgrâce chez le seigneur
- (235) manger de la viande bouillie = grande joie
- (236) dragon mort = dégradation
- (237) manger de la viande de chien = avoir un procès
- (238) dragon montant au ciel = santé
- (239) manger de la viande de canard = maladie de la seconde femme
- (240) monter un dragon = bon pour n'importe quelle affaire
- (241) manger du man-t'eu (pain cuit à la vapeur) = se délivrer de la calomnie
- (242) se transformer en dragon — être honoré comme un personnage important — cf. mong. ergügde-
- (243) dragon d'or = devenir très riche

- (244) serpent à pattes = rumeur sur qc de miraculeux — cf. ord. orō- "envelopper, entortiller; s'enrouler autour; impliquer dans, embarrasser, gêner" (MOSTAERT), mong. oriya-; la première partie peut également être traduite comme suit: serpent qui s'enroule autour des pieds (de celui qui songe)
- (245) dragon ou serpent entré par la porte = grande joie
- (246) serpent brun et jaune = calomnie
- (247) dragon ou serpent entré dans le fourneau = grand profit
- (248) serpent qui apparaît bleu = bon
- (249) serpent qui s'enroule autour du corps [de celui qui voit le songe] = naissance d'un bon fils
- (250) serpent jaune ou blanc = avoir un procès
- (251) être appelé par un serpent = se concilier l'affection d'une (ou: de la) femme
- (252) vol du paon — évidemment (?) bon — le ms donne b'yyi' -d'y qui peut être également lu comme bayila-dai pour bayiltai "constant" (?), cf. cf. ord. bāltā "doit être" (toujours prédicatif)
- (253) être mordu par un serpent = obtenir des biens
- (254) un serpent qui se transforme en dragon = bon pour n'importe quelle affaire
- (255) cri d'un lièvre blanc = accomplissement d'une bonne affaire
- (256) poule (ou: coq) entrée dans la maison = mauvais
- (257) hirondelles faisant leur nid dans la maison = promotion — cf. ord. gatuⁿ xarāčā "l'hirondelle ordinaire qui loge dans les maisons" (MOSTAERT), qatun qariyačai = mandchou mongɣo čibin, tib. bye-gyi khug-rta-vug, tourki qalmaq qarlujač, chin. hou-yen (Wou-t'i III 4184)
- (258) deux oiseaux qui se battent = avoir un procès
- (259) hirondelles qui sont entrées dans la maison = hôtes qui viennent de loin
- (260) oie et canard qui vont en file = obtenir encore une bonne femme
- (261) canards jaunes séparés = mort de la femme
- (262) mordre un serpent = souffrance corporelle
- (263) divers oiseaux qui volent ensemble = accomplissement d'un grand nombre d'affaires
- (264) prendre un oiseau = nouvelles de loin
- (265) cri de la pie = bonheur par le gain de biens
- (266) cerf = devenir célèbre
- (267) hurlement du tigre = grande frayeur
- (268) souris qui ronge le vêtement = accomplissement de l'affaire désirée
- (269) monter un tigre = se délivrer de la mauvaise réputation
- (270) cerf entré dans la maison = profit
- (271) grand nombre de lièvres = se délivrer des souffrances
- (272) battre un tigre = mauvais
- (273) singe = avoir un procès — cf. (274) sarmačĭn, (276) saramčĭn, ord. sarmagčĭn (MOSTAERT), oir.lit. sar mečĭn, kalm. sar möčĭn (RAMSTEDT), contamination de sarmačĭn et de mečĭn

- (274) singe blanc = promotion — cf. chin. pai heou, MOROHASI 22678:410
- (275) rats qui se querellent (?) = joie du profit — cf. ord. ĵargula- "intenter un procès" (MOSTAERT) et (277)
- (276) singe qui tient des fruits = l'étendue de la vie et la vertu s'accroîtront — cf. l'histoire chinoise de Souen Wou-kong, le roi des singes qui a dérobé les pêches de la longévité
- (277) prendre un rat (m.à m.: un mauvais rat) = profit — cf. iconographie lamaïque ou le rat (ou bien la genette) symbolise la richesse, cf. même dans le folklore mongole: l'année du rat "qui dégorge de pierres précieuses"
- (278) trouver des perles et des pierres de jaspé = mauvais
- (279) donner des biens à qq = guérir
- (280) livres religieux dérobés par qq = impuissance (m.à m.: augure de l'impuissance)
- (281) recevoir des provisions = grande joie — qoolai = qoyola(i), cf. ord. xōlo, xōl, xōlō "gosier, gorge, voix", xōlo, xōl "aliment, repas, nourriture" (MOSTAERT)
- (282) tirer l'horoscope = maladie — cf. mong. ĵayaŋan, ord. ĵiyā "destin", ĵ. tōči- "dire la bonne aventure, tirer l'horoscope" (MOSTAERT)
- (283) trouver qc en fer = obtenir des biens
- (284) clore (?) le registre de comptes = nouvelle (ou commission) de loin
- (285) trouver une armoire ou un coffre = se délivrer de la calomnie
- (286) voir qq lire des livres à haute voix = devenir sage
- (287) trouver une boule de jaspé = grande joie
- (288) enseigner = grande joie
- (289) trouver un papier de cinq couleurs = devenir plus intelligent
- (290) écriture et sceau = célébrité
- (291) couteau qui tombe dans l'eau = maladie de la femme
- (292) ouvrir la porte (de feutre) = bonheur
- (293) partir en voyage au loin, avec un couteau dans la main = grande joie
- (294) emménager dans une nouvelle maison = recevoir un nouveau seigneur
- (295) affûter un couteau = grande joie
- (296) fichu (ou mouchoir) = calomnie
- (297) couteau ou hache reçu de qq = bonheur
- (298) porcelaine = calomnie
- (299) femme qui porte un couteau = grande joie
- (300) porte agrandie (= élargie) = naissance d'un fils savant
- (301) couper qc avec un couteau ou des ciseaux = bonheur
- (302) frapper à la porte = grande joie
- (303) maison déserte = mauvais
- (304) conduire des moutons ou des boeufs = grande joie
- (305) voir des boeufs sur la montagne = grande joie
- (306) cheval entré dans la maison = faire l'amour avec une jeune fille
- (307) boeuf qui sort par la porte = fin du procès judiciaire
- (308) livrer de l'argent (ou bien: des sapèques) sur le cheval = appel

- (309) boeuf qui sort de l'eau = échec
- (310) cheval entré dans la maison = se délivrer de n'importe quelle affaire malaisée
- (311) boeuf qui pénètre dans la maison — mourir (m.à m.: augure de la mort)
- (312) monter (ou: porter) une selle de cheval sur [...?] = n'importe quelle affaire s'accomplira — t'n pour dan, chin. tan "porter sur les épaules; une mesure"?
- (313) monter sur une montagne en conduisant un grand boeuf = grande joie
- (314) cheval allé au mingran-u yaĵar = grande joie — j'ai laissé sans traduction le composé mingran-u yaĵar "l'office du chiliarque"(?)
- (315) cheval à cornes = miracle — cf. chin. kiao-ma "cheval avec des cornes; qc extraordinaire"
- (316) miroir sans lumière = mauvais
- (317) être mordu par un cheval = (enrichissement de la) vertu et promotion
- (318) miroir brisé = divorce
- (319) voir un bon cheval = grande joie
- (320) voir soi-même dans le miroir = nouvelles de loin
- (321) cochon entré dans la maison = se délivrer du procès
- (322) trouver un miroir = obtenir une bonne épouse
- (323) bête qui parle avec qq = très mauvais
- (324) peigne sans dents = difficulté dans l'affaire
- (325) miroir brillant = grande joie
- (326) argent ou or qui se meut = voyage au loin
- (327) puits rempli d'eau = accomplissement de l'affaire
- (328) trouver des bijoux = grande joie
- (329) boue tirée du puits = obtenir des biens
- (330) coraux ou perles enfilés = pleurer
- (331) se voir soi-même dans le puits = promotion
- (332) gobelet d'or ou d'argent = naissance d'un bon fils
- (333) porte que l'on ferme = échec
- (334) tenter de baisser le pantalon d'une femme = très bon

(Pour un pareil ouvrage chinois, voir H.MASPERO, Les documents chinois de la troisième expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie centrale, London 1953, no. 350. — KAO. 077, YUTŌGH, Clef des songes; v. encore no. 354.)

L. LŐRINCZ

HERACLES IN MONGOLIA?

It is rather an unrewarding task to draw comparison between European and Asian literary and folkloristic works or to search for their common origin or simply to study similarities in them. Scholars of European literatures are more or less right when they express their resentment at endeavours to state Eastern influences on outstanding works of European culture and to point out the existence of Eastern elements in European myths, epic poems and tales.

On the other hand it is the Eastern scholar who refuses research results and views which say that European or Western influences can be detected in Eastern literature and folklore. Today the latter tendency prevails and the new scholar generation in the developing countries of the East is determined to defend their countries' cultural heritage.

However, if we have a closer look at the Eastern and Western parallelisms, it becomes more and more apparent that in spite of the contradictory views, these parallelisms do exist and the only correct approach to the problems is to search for their explanation and not to ignore them.[1]

As for the seemingly Western elements in Eastern works, their existence is unquestionable, the question to be answered is whether they are of truly Western origin. Without going into a detailed discussion of this question we would like to call the attention to the well known fact that, for instance, in the European Antiquity, in the most flourishing period of the Greek mythology — and well before it — East and West were not deeply segregated culturally and spiritually as they have been ever since the European Middle Ages up to our present times. It is also well known that Greek mythology drew on several Oriental sources, both Sumer and Egyptian, so Greek mythology is not at all a miracle of Western folklore, but it is a product of Western and Eastern sources which welded on the shore of the Aegean Sea and in Asia Minor.

It was necessary to establish this in advance, for we have to see it clearly that when examining parallelisms in Greek myths and Inner-Asian folklore it is not setting up some sort of Oriental and Occidental parallels.

The corresponding motifs in Greek myths can be of Oriental, i.e. Asian origin just as well as the ones in Mongolian myths are. Our present study which

aims at comparing certain characteristics of Greek mythology with their Mongolian counterparts is not going to search for parallelisms. Its intention is to call the scholars' attention to the fact that the influence of the immense mythology-circle which centered in the Aegean basin and in Mesopotamia reached Inner Asia, Mongolia and Tibet, obviously affecting the folklore and the world of beliefs of the peoples living there.[2]

Generally, a common motif in these mythologies is the appearance of the divine hero or heroes who are charged by the gods to defend mankind from threatening dangers and to destroy monsters, to win immortality and to share it with mankind. And, if this cannot be achieved they should at least make peace.

The adventures of the heroes are mostly related in literary works of high literary standard: in epics, myths, hymns and later in novels, too. The story of Gilgamesh and that of Heracles belong to the most beautiful works of world literature.

In Tibet and Mongolia, the divine hero who descends from the gods' world onto the earth to accomplish heroic deeds and to defend mankind by the gods' order is Geser.

The etymology of Geser's name is not known so far. Among the various attempts made to decipher it — the description of which we disregard here — one is worth mentioning. Geser or Gesar was associated with the word Caesar. It is supported by the so far unexplained adjective attached to it in Tibetan: khrom, i.e. Gesar khrom, which suggests the etymologists to identify them with the words Caesar and Rome. Thus the name Gesar would mean the Roman emperor.

This etymology, however, is far from being proved, and even if we accepted this identification it would be of little value for the demonstration of the existence of Roman elements in Inner-Asian literary works.

So Geser is a hero, who is commissioned to the Earth by the gods to protect mankind. His mission is decided by the gods well before his birth, and the hero is to be born onto the Earth to fulfil his task. His birth, however, is preceded by events which directly influence his descendancy to the world.

The antecedents of Heracles' birth is described in the Greek mythology in the following way:[4]

Elektryon, the king of Mykene, waged war upon two islands as their inhabitants had stolen his herds of cattle. When the king went to war he entrusted his nephew, Amphytryon, to rule Mykene. Elektryon had promised his substitute to let him marry his daughter, Alkhmene, after his return, provided he proved to be a wise monarch while he was away. Amphytryon, however, instead of living up to this expectation and representing Elektryon faithfully, detected the merchants to whom the thieves had sold the cattle, bought them back from the new owners, and called back Elektryon from the war.

Elektryon, arriving home, became indignant at seeing that his substitute had paid a lot of money to get back his own property stolen from him, and in the ensuing quarrel Amphytryon killed Elektryon. Following this, Amphytryon had to flee, but he took with him Alkhmene who refused to sleep with his husband as long as he did not take revenge on the thieves.

So Amphitryon went to war. Zeus seized the opportunity to make Alkhmene, as he had planned, mother of the would-be hero, Heracles. So he descended onto the Earth assuming Amphitryon's body and spent a whole night with Alkhmene, this one night being as long as three others, because Zeus had ordered Helios to extinguish the brightness of the sun. Heracles was born, and together with him a twin-brother, Iphikles was born, too.

The Geser-novel, edited in 1716 in Peking, in xylograph form, relates the antecedents of the hero's, Geser's birth in this way:[5]

There were three clans, the heads of which were Chotong, Chargin and Senglün. They conspired to steal the fortune of the head of the fourth clan whose name was Geü bayan. But one of the conspirators, Chotong, betrayed them and Geü bayan was able to flee from them in time. He was accompanied by his daughter, who, unfortunately, slipped on the ice and broke her leg. The traitor, Chotong, presented the crippled girl to his brother, Senglün, but when he found out that the girl had recovered her health and beauty in the old man's house, he became so jealous that he drove them out of the country.

From this point on the story becomes a little obscure. One night the girl caught sight of a half human and half bird like figure followed by a huge human figure. The sight caused her to fall senseless on the ground. She was made pregnant in her unconscious state by that creature. Who that supernatural creature was cannot be definitely said, but it can be presumed that he was the main god as it was by his order that the hero must have come to the world.

Geser was then delivered by the chieftain's daughter together with three twin brothers, who ascended to heaven.

The two Greek and Mongol myths carry some basic identical motifs.

In both myths the birth of the hero is preceded by robbery and warfare resulting directly in the exile of the hero's mother. In the Greek myth Amphitryon and Alkhmene have to flee from Mykene because Amphitryon killed Elektryon, while in the Mongol myth Chotong expels the girl and Senglün.

The exile, in both myths, is preceded by treachery: Elektryon's herd is recovered in a treacherous way, paying money for it, whereas in the Mongol myth Chotong discloses the plan for war to the enemy.

The women in exile become pregnant by the supreme god in both myths. Zeus appears before Alkhmene disguised as her husband, whereas in the Mongol myth the supreme god approaches the woman in the form of a bird and a giant. The motif of the twin brothers can also be found in both myths: the Greek hero has one, the Mongol hero has three twin brothers.

The baby hero's life is soon greatly threatened. In the Greek myth it is Hera who takes every means to attempt his life.[6]

Heracles was about eight to ten months old when one night, around midnight Hera sent two giant serpents to Amphitryon's house to get the baby killed. But Heracles was not frightened by the sight of the fire-breathing animals, but he strangled them and threw them in front of the feet of his father who came running into the room in a fright. The life of the Mongolian baby hero, too, is in jeopardy.

These versions also contain, in accordance with the Buddhist- Lamaist beliefs, some elements which are peculiar only to this body of beliefs. In the Mongolian versions "the Evil", presumably the evil gods, (Hera in the Greek counterpart) do all they can to kill the baby. Disguised as a lama-physician a monster calls on the baby Geser and on the pretext of a medical examination he tries to cut the baby's tongue out. But the extraordinarily strong child kills the lama.

There are other motives that show more resemblance to the Greek myth. The baby lying in his cradle is attacked by huge birds (crows) that want to blind him. But the strong child strangles the birds and tears them up.[7]

Both the Greek and the Mongolian mythologies contain a specific motif in which the correspondance is fairly apparent. Geser, no longer a baby, comes into conflict with a high-ranking magician lama. The Lama, who is able to change shape and to transfer his spirit into different animals, sets out to kill Geser; having assumed the shape of a wasp he tries to sting him to death. Geser, however, realises the danger and getting hold of the wasp he almost crushes it between his two fingers.[8]

The parallel motif in the Heracles-myth is this:

Heracles had carried out great heroic deeds when he was a slave. He had, among others, captured the two Kerkopses of Ephesos, who had not let him sleep. The Kerkopses were twin brothers ... the cleverest swindlers and liars who had ever lived in the world, and who had rambled about the earth committing impostures again and again ... The twins went on buzzing about Heracles' bed in the shape of wasps until he caught them and forced them to resume their original forms. Then having hung them on a rod with their head downwards he slung them over his shoulder and carried them away.[9]

The Geser-novel, elaborating the Geser-myths, is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter describes the story of Geser's birth and childhood, which shows, as demonstrated in the examples above, many similarities with the Heracles-myths.

The core of the Heracles-mythology circle lies in the tasks to be carried out by Heracles. According to the Greek myths the hero has to perform these tasks in order to win immortality. Geser's task is much more practical; he has to save mankind from the monsters. Both heroes perform certain tasks, and deliberately or unintentionally they both help the people living on the earth through their activities. Heracles, unlike Geser, has to perform a definite number of tasks. It is to be remembered, however, that Heracles carries out several heroic deeds beside his main tasks; he takes part in a great number of battles and fights, so the number of his adventures is bigger than that of the tasks set before him.

Heracles' first task is the killing of the lion of Nemea, although he had already killed another lion before that. The lion of Nemea had such a thick skin that no weapon could pierce it. So, Heracles could kill it only by resorting to his extraordinary strength; he first hit the animal on the head with his mace and then strangled it.[10]

In the Mongolian myth a black spotted tiger rampages the country. Geser is given order from the land of gods to get rid of the monstrous animal. In disguise the hero attacks the tiger, whose skin cannot be pierced either. But the reason for the intangibility of the animal's skin in the Mongolian version is different; in the Greek myth the skin of the lion of Nemea defies all weapons and is invulnerable whereas in the Mongol text Geser wants to spare the tiger's skin in order to have shields and other important objects of everyday use made of it. So Geser jumps into the throat of the tiger and kills it from inside by cutting his internal parts into pieces.[11]

In both myths the heroes make use of the skin of the defeated animal for their own purpose: Heracles, too, dresses himself up in the Nemean lion's skin.

It is also a common feature that the hero preparing for his task is given weapons and other objects by the gods.

Heracles, preparing for the task, received a sword from Hermes, a bow and eagle-feathered arrows from Apollon, a breast-plate from Hephaistos, and clothes from Athene. Poseidon gave horses to the hero, while Zeus gave him an impenetrable shield. He was assisted in performing his tasks by his nephew, Iolaos, — as his coachman or shield-carrier.[12]

In the corresponding part of the Mongolian Geser-novel the hero, before descending into the world of human beings, appeals to the gods and makes his conditions on which he is ready to accomplish his tasks. He demands — among others — the weapons of the main god Kormusda: his shield, his helmet, his bow and arrows, and his halter, etc. Besides, he takes his knights, his three heavenly sisters and his most favourite brother, Jasashicür. With the help of the miraculous arms, his knights and last but not least, his most efficient assistant, his brother (the counterpart of the Greek Iolaos) he succeeds in defeating even the tiger.[13]

Among Heracles' many tasks one is to kill the hydra of Lerna, which he does amid great difficulties.[14] Without seeking for far-fetched examples of parallelisms we found the following scene in the Geser-novel worth studying:[15]

Geser comes to know that there is a frightful monster (mangus) living on top of a suburgan (a Buddhist-Lamaist holy place) which feeds on human beings. As for the mangus there are two types of it known in the Mongolian folklore. One of them is the so-called rakshasa-type, of Indian origin, the other one is an ancient type resembling a dragon-snake, similar to the hydra.

We know that the hydra of Lerna lived in a cave and Heracles strangled it there. As for Geser, he resorted to an unusual trick. He appeared as a poor marmot-hunter so as to make the mangus believe that he was going to dig out marmots from their holes. Geser, pretending to be digging holes, managed to undermine the abode of the mangus, which then got buried under the collapsing suburgan.

Heracles' tasks included the acquisition of the belt of the amazon, Hippolyte.[16]

Heracles, in order to accomplish his task, cast his anchor in the harbour of Themiscyra, where the amazon caught sight of him and fell in love with him on first sight. She offered to him as a love present the wonderful belt that once had belonged to Ares. Hera, however, enraged by the easiness with which Heracles had carried out his tasks, in the disguise of an amazon, spread the rumour among the amazons that the foreign sailors were going to kidnap Hippolyte. The amazons attacked the Greeks. Heracles, suspecting betrayal, killed Hippolyte, took her belt and arms, took arms against the amazons, and having killed many of them he made them flee.

The Mongolian Geser has the following story containing a lot of similar elements:[17]

"When I was fourteen years old, the daughter of the dragon king, Ajumergen, and I, Geser, went hunting. When I, Geser, and Ajumergen were walking, I, Geser, was attacked by seven deers. I, Geser, shot my arrows into the seven deers and pinned them to the earth. Then Ajumergen was attacked by nine deers, which she shot her arrows at, pinning them to the rocks. Then I, Geser, started to wonder how to find out whether Ajumergen was a woman or a man. In the meantime another deer ran forward, and as I, Geser, was unable to kill it, because of the long distance between me and the deer, riding my horse I, Geser, departed from the group of hunters.

Ajumergen followed me pursuing the deer. Then I, Geser, turned round, saying: "You can only be a woman, as I see I am followed by someone who looks like a wretched woman!" Then Ajumergen spoke: "Be acquainted with my womanhood!" And saying these words she killed the deer with her arrow. Then I, Geser, went up to the deer and pulled the arrow out of its body and put it under my armpit and lay down as if I were dead. Ajumergen then said aloud: "In the course of the previous day I killed Temürkada, the son of Amatai, taking his brownish black horse, and now I have killed Geser khan, the lord of the ten regions of the world, and I shall take his horse!" — and with these words she started to lead the horse away. I, Geser, continued to lie there motionless. Then by magic I assumed the body of a man, who started to shout: "Ajumergen has killed Geser khan, the lord of the ten regions! Brother Jasashikir and the three clans should assemble to kill Ajumergen!".

Then Ajumergen released her hidden plait of hair on her right with her right hand, accompanied with the following words: "My father and brother should not be harmed!" Then she released her plait of hair on her left with her left hand, accompanied with the following words: "Misfortune should forsake my younger brother and my mother!" She threw back her braid with these words: "Misfortune should avoid my Chinese maiden!".

At this moment Geser recognized that Ajumergen was a woman, so he sprang up and they started to wrestle. Geser (I) was once pulled down onto his knees by her. Then Geser spoke up: "Does a man not wrestle three times? Do they not beat each other three times?" We started wrestling again. Then I, Geser, threw her onto the ground. Then I, Geser, spoke the words: "I shall marry thou!". To this, Ajumergen answered yes. Then I, Geser, said: "If

this is so, will you lick my small-finger?" And Ajumergen answered yes again. Then I cut my little finger and made Ajumergen taste my blood. Then we both set out for the great sea to drink from its water. When we arrived at the water I noticed a shimmering arrow in it. Then I, Geser spoke up: "But there is no one with bended bow behind me!" Then I asked laughing: "What should that mean?" Ajumergen answered: "It is not at you that I drew my bow, it is the fish in the water that I drew my bow at." — she said. And as soon as she had uttered her words the sea started billowing red with the blood of the fish she had killed.

Then we went up to the sea and drank from its water. Then I, Geser, took off my clothes and started to swim across the water and sat on the opposite bank. Ajumergen was sweating so strongly that she could not go on sitting (in the terrible heat), so she took off her upper and lower clothes and as she descended into the water I, Geser, caught sight of her, upon which I gave a whistle, raising wind and a whirl wind hung Ajumergen's clothes on the top of a tree. I, Geser, then returned and put on my clothes. Having finished this I saw that Ajumergen was beginning to feel cold and then she took shelter in Geser's lap. Then I, Geser, said nine teachings addressing the four cardinal points."

The above quoted part of the Geser-novel is undoubtedly connected with the Greek myth at several points, and it is not at all impossible that in the motif of the whirl-wind hanging the clothes on top of the tree we can detect the reminiscence of the way Heracles succeeded in acquiring Hippolyte's belt.

Heracles' final task — as is known — is to bring up Cerberos from the Underworld. Through a lot of adventures Heracles manages to fulfil this last task, too.[18]

In the last chapter of the Geser-novel Geser, too, is obliged to descend into the Underworld. Because while he had been fulfilling his mission by fighting off and killing monsters to serve, thus, mankind, his mother had died and descended down to the hell. Geser, in order to save her soul, went after her and succeeded in redeeming her.[19]

With this last example we have come to the end of our study although the Greek Heracles-myth and the Buryat-Mongol Geser-novel have several other details showing similarities which would be worth to be examined more deeply. We should like to point out again that it was not our aim to find direct connections between Greek and Mongol myths or to establish a direction of impact. No doubt, the Greek myths, too, took their origin from Oriental sources, and the myths that were the prototypes of the Greek myths, had been widely known in Inner-Asia, Tibet and Mongolia, too.

The survey of the Inner Asian parallelismus and their publication will, in any case, enrich our knowledge of the Euroasian myths and mythology.

Notes

1. The question was last discussed in a collection of studies in the Sovietunion: 'Tipologija i vzaimosvjazy srednevekovych literatur vostoka i zapada'. Moscow 1974. From this collection we are most interested in S. Ju. NEKLJUDOV's 'Istoričeskie vzaimosvjazy tjurko-mongoljskich folklornych tradicii i problema vostočnych vlijanij v evropejskom epose'. 192-274 pp.
2. The corresponding features of the Inner-Asian and Greek folklore and mythology were last dealt with by Katalin U. KÓHALMI, 'Griechisch-Sibirische mythologische Parallelen': Acta Orient. Hung. 25(1972) pp. 137-147. Katalin KÓHALMI cites in her article several studies published on the subject. See further László LŐRINCZ, Mongol mitológia [Mongolian Mythology], Budapest 1975 (in Hungarian), pp. 196-207 (On the remains of ancient myths in the Mongolian folk tales).
3. P. Matthias HERMANNS, Das National-Epos der Tibeter Gling König Ge Sar. Regensburg 1965, 63 p.
4. Robert GRAVES, The Greek Myths II. Penguin ed. (s.a.), pp. 84-88.
5. 'Arban jüg-iin ejen Geser qazan-u toɣuɣi orusiba'. (The story of Geser khan, the lord of the ten regions of the world.) Peking 1956, pp. 9-16.
6. GRAVES, op.cit. II. pp. 90-91.
7. 'Arban jüg-iin ...', pp. 18-19.
8. 'Arban jüg-iin ...', pp. 54-57.
9. GRAVES, op.cit. II. pp. 163.
10. GRAVES, op.cit. II. pp. 103-105.
11. 'Arban jüg-iin ...' pp. 94-120.
12. GRAVES, op.cit. II. pp. 101-102.
13. 'Arban jüg-iin ...', pp. 5-6.
14. GRAVES, op.cit. II. pp. 107-109.
15. 'Arban jüg-ün ...', pp. 44-46.
16. GRAVES, op.cit. II. p. 126.
17. 'Arban jüg-iin ...', pp. 90-93.
18. GRAVES, op.cit. II. pp. 152-155.
19. 'Arban jüg-iin ...', pp. 307-312.

A. RÓNA-TAS

AN UNPUBLISHED CHUVASH WORDLIST IN THE LIBRARY OF THE HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

There is no reason to consider one language more important than others from a general or a historical point of view. However, there are always key languages which have a distinguished place in the consideration of certain historical problems. In the very complex context of the history of the Altaic languages Chuvash undoubtedly plays such a role. For the reconstruction of the history of the Turkish languages Chuvash is essential because it pertains to and is the only living member of a group of Turkish languages which separated the earliest from the main body of the Proto Turkish dialects. Thus it is impossible to reconstruct Proto Turkish without considering the linguistic data received from the study of Chuvash. In the debated question of the relationship between the Turkish and Mongolian languages Chuvash has a special position in that it shows a series of peculiarities common to Mongolian and Chuvash, but not shared by the other Turkish languages. Chuvash itself has a very complicated interrelationship with the Kipchak Turkish languages of the Volga region, Tatar and Bashkir on the one side and with the Finno-Ugrian languages of this area, the Permic (Votyak, Permyak and Züryen) and Volga (Cheremis and Mordwin) group on the other. None of the linguistic and ethnogenetic problems of these languages and peoples can be solved without a correct interpretation of the Chuvash data. Finally neither the linguistic nor the ethnic and political history of the Hungarians can be investigated without reference to the background information contained in the history of the Chuvash language.

Thus one could be entitled to think that the history of the Chuvash language is one of the most carefully studied aspects of Turkology and Altaistics in general. But this is not the case. Though we do have fundamental works on several specific and detail questions of Chuvash linguistic history, the basic works themselves seem to be unduly neglected. There is no serious academic edition of any of the monuments of the history of the Chuvash language; most of them are not even published and not a few are unknown at least to those scholars who are interested in the problems referred to above.

This specific situation has, of course, its special causes. If we disregard scattered glosses and proper names, there are two groups of written documents which contain linguistic material concerning the history of the Chuvash language

and the dialects nearest to it. The first group consists of words and a very few sentences scattered in epigraphical texts written in Arabic and dated to the 13th and 14th centuries. Though most of them have been known for more than 250 years we are only now in the position to undertake a thorough investigation of them because their earlier editions were unreliable.[1]

To the second group pertain relatively late wordlists and texts collected, written and partly published in the 18th and the first half of the 19th century. The earliest of these is a short word-list collected by the Swedish prisoner of war Ph. I. STRAHLENBERG before 1721 and published in 1730 in his famous 'Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia' [1/a]. From the following period we know of the following items:

	collected or compiled	published
1. Materials published by G. F. MILLER[2]	1733	1758
2. J. E. FISCHER's two manuscripts, same as No. 1, but rearranged and commented[3]		
3. An answer to the questionnaire compiled by TA TIŠČEV[4]	1737	
4. Russian-Tatar-Chuvash-Mordvin word-list[5]	1737-1738	
5. Russian-Chuvash-Cheremis-Mordvin wordlist[6]	1737-1738	
6. A eulogy on the Empress Katharine[7]	1767	1767
7. A grammar edited by PUCEK-GRIGOROVICH[8]		1769
8. Materials in PALLAS' 'Reise...' [9]	1768-1769	1771
9. The second edition of No. 7. [10]		1775
10. An occasional poem written in Kazan[11]		1781
11. Materials collected by K. MILKOVIČ[12]	1783	1827
12-16. Word-lists drawn up according to the instructions of PALLAS and used for the compilation of No. 19. [13]	1784-1785	
17. Russian-Chuvash word-list[14]	1785	

	collected or compiled	published
18. Tatar, Chuvash, Mordvin and word-list of DAMASKIN[15] -[16]	1785	
19. The 'Sravnitel'nye slovari' of Cathe- rine II, compiled by PALLAS[17]		1787-1789
20. Texts from the seminar of Nižegorod[18]	1788	
21. A Chuvash catechism translated by J. ROŽANSKIJ[19]	1788	1800
22. The Lord's Prayer in Chuvash trans- lated by P. TALIEV[20]	1788	
23. Chuvash sermons by J. ROŽANSZKIJ[21]	1789	
24. The 2nd, rearranged edition of No. 19[22]		1790-1791
25. Religious texts translated by I. RUSANOVSKIJ [23]	1791	
26. The Lord's Prayer translated by P. T. IVANOV [24]	in the 1790's	
27. Prayers translated by G. ROŽANS- KIJ [25]	in the 1790's	
28. Conversation texts translated by G. ROŽANSKIJ and I. RUSANOVSKIJ[26]	in the 1790's	
29. A Russian-Chuvash-Mordvin- Cheremis word-list [27]	in the 1790's	
30. An occasional poem written in Kazan[28]	1795	
31. Catechism translated by A. ALMAZOV[29]	1803	1804
32. Chuvash-Tatar comparative word- list compiled by NEUMANN[30]	1815	1817
33. Translation of the four Gospels under the guidance of P. TALIEV[31]		1820
34. Folklore texts collected by A. FUCHS[32]	1830-32	1840
35. Religious texts translated by S. ELPIDIN[33]		1832
36. D.P. OZNABIŠIN's record of a Chuvash song[34]		1833

With these texts ends the first period of the historical monuments and records on the Chuvash language.

The second period saw the publication of such important works as the Chuvash grammar of VIŠNEVSKIJ (1836) [35], the comparative Russian-Chuvash-Hungarian grammar of E. DEŠKO (1856) [36], it also witnessed the fieldwork of two outstanding scholars, A. REGULY (1843, 1846) [37] and A. AHLQUIST (1856-1857) [38], the literary and scientific activity of S.M. MIHAJLOV (1821-1861) [39], the publications of V.A. SBOEV (1856) [40] and the Russian-Chuvash dictionary of V.P. GROMOV (before 1841) [41], to mention only those works which contain original Chuvash material.

Between these two periods a small wordlist was collected, in 1835, by F.A. VOLEGOV, a clerk in the court of Count Stroganov. Previously — in 1833 — VOLEGOV (1790-1856) had collected a Permyak word-list of about 3,000 items which was published by K. RÉDEI in 1968 [42]. The Chuvash words are contained in a smaller pentaglott wordlist where, beside the Chuvash and Russian Permyak, Züryen and Votyak words are listed. Both the great Permyak word-list and the pentaglott word-list were handed over to REGULY in 1843, and are now kept in the Department of Manuscripts and Old Books of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The latter under the sigla M. Nyelvtud 4/14/III.

In his above mentioned book K. RÉDEI drew attention to the hitherto unpublished Chuvash word-list. It will be published by my student Klára AGYAGÁSI, but I would like here to underline its importance for Chuvash studies by giving some examples.

The phonemic system of Chuvash differs in many points from that of the other Turkish languages. One factor influencing the development of the present system was surely Finno-Ugrian linguistic contacts but also some important inner developments played a significant role. This confused so much the shape of Chuvash that some scholars were inclined to see in it a Turkicized Finno-Ugrian language, others considered it impossible to find any regular correspondence between Chuvash and the other Turkish languages at least as far as its vocalism was concerned. This impression was also strengthened by the inadequate description of Chuvash texts and words. The Cyrillic script used from the beginning to record the Chuvash language had evident shortcomings and could not distinguish in many cases among phonologically relevant sounds. This was mainly the situation before the orthographical reform of JAKOVLEV, who aimed at the construction of a phonemic rather than a phonetic orthography of Chuvash; he succeeded in his efforts in a measure unparalleled in any other orthography. The situation before JAKOVLEV's reform was also rendered confused by the mixing of forms from the two main dialects of Chuvash, the Higher or Viryal and the Lower or Anatri. Further, over the course of time three centres were active in collecting and publishing Chuvash materials: Nižnij Novgorod (now Gorki), Kazan and Simbirsk (now Uljanovsk). In all of three certain orthographical traditions developed and as far as we can judge, their slight differences also hamper the work of reconstructing the Chuvash linguistic system of the 18th and early 19th centuries. In this context the word-list of VOLEGOV is of special interest. It contains Chuvash words

taken from the 'Sočinenija prinadležaščija k grammatike čuvaškago jazyka' compiled under the guidance of V. PUCEK-GRIGOROVICH (1767, No. 7). As VOLEGOV has remarked in his letter to REGULY dated on the 4th March of 1841 he "collected" (sobral) the Votyak and Chuvash words during "he changed horses at the post-stations in the regions of Vjatka and Kazan". He came to the conclusion that the Chuvash language — which in his times has been considered by most of the scholars as a Finno-Ugric one — is not related to Züryen, Permyak and Votyak. We have to suppose that "collected" means "checked" since discrepancies between VOLEGOV's material and the 'Sočinenija' are minimal. Thus we have in our hands a control of the 'Sočinenija' made by a linguistically untrained person 68 years after its publication.

The alveolar spirant -x- in intervocalic position becomes systematically a media lenis spirant in Chuvash. The older orthography denoted this by the Cyrillic letter р, the new orthography used х because this change is conditioned and thus the media lenis character is allophonic. Also VOLEGOV used р to render the allophone of -x- in intervocalic position e.g. in the word сoгaлѣ "beard" (present orthography сăхăл which we shall transliterate in the following with Latin letters). However in the case of the word šăxan "raven", where we would expect in VOLEGOV's text *сюгањѣ we find instead сюхăнѣ with the х denoting the tenuis spirant counterpart. This unexpected notation is corroborated by the 'Thesaurus' of AŠMARIN [43], where he gives in his phonetic transcription šôhan for the Viryal and šăhan for the Anatri dialect. We know that for several reasons AŠMARIN's work has to be used with great caution, but in this case VOLEGOV and AŠMARIN corroborate each other. And this gives us the key to the etymology of the word. It is clearly a secondary form from an earlier šôtšan "gluttonous" derived from the verb šôt- "swallow". In fact we find beside the meaning "raven" for šăxan also the meaning "glutton" as well. The unvoiced character of the -x- has been preserved by the preceding unvoiced -t-, and secondary voicing did not occur in most dialects until recent times. Since the word šôt-/šăt- goes back to the Proto Turkish form yût- "to swallow", well attested in old Turkish texts and modern dialects, we can reconstruct the proto form of the Chuvash word as *yûtqan, an old Turkish name for the raven, hitherto unknown to me from other sources.

The Russian word бочка "barrel" became pičke in Chuvash. The front vocalic character is somewhat puzzling and can only be explained by a supposed and intermediate form *pička. VOLEGOV has this form as пичка.

All Turkish languages have for the word "rich" bay or its regular developments. It is only Chuvash and Mongolian which have an underlying form bayan which developed regularly in Chuvash into puyan. This extended form was identical to the name of the famous Avar ruler Bayan and thus the history of the word is of wide historical interest. VOLEGOV has the longer form, but he also recorded the shorter form буѣ both with the preservation of the initial b-, though Turkish initial consistently became p- in Chuvash. This is also reflected in VOLEGOV's material in such words as прѣ "hail" < PT *buz пурзѣ "flea" < PT *burča or пырѣ "throat" < PT *boraz etc. If буѣ is not a

mistake (it cannot be the verb puy- "to be rich", because VOLEGOV quotes all verbs in the first person present, and never in their stem form. In this case the Sočinenija has buy "richess") it raises the suspicion that in old Chuvash bay was the original word, and bayan is a Middle Mongolian loanword, which gradually took the place of the original Turkish form. In this case the name of Bayan can only be of Mongolian origin.

It is highly significant to the history of the Chuvash language that the consonant l became spirant and disappeared in certain positions. On the other hand the picture is obscured by the few cases where -l- has been preserved. Two such examples are šältär "star" from PT * yultuz and iltan "gold" from PT * altan. Now in VOLEGOV we find сѡдар i.e. šōdar with the meaning "star", where the -l- has disappeared. This could happen only through a form *sōvtär which is not attested, but its parallel form for iltan i.e. ivtan can actually be found in AŠMARIN's Thesaurus. Thus the two data corroborate each other once more and we see that the tendency for -l- to disappear was also present in Chuvash in these cases.

VOLEGOV's material gives us the key to the hitherto unsolved etymology of the word šantalāk "climate, weather". JEGOROV[44] has proposed that the first part of the word embodied the Persian jahān "world" while the second was the Chuvash word talāk "something round" as in sultalāk "the round year" cf. Bashkir yil täülege "the round year". This is however impossible for semantic and phonetic reasons. The right etymology was suggested by BUDENZ[45] who was, however, unable to solve the semantic and phonetic problems involved. BUDENZ connected the word with the demonstrative pronoun šav~šavā and referred to a parallel dialectal form šavāntalāk with the same meaning. He argued that it meant "the one which is there, far". Now "climate, weather" and "far" cannot be connected. Neither can the first syllable of šantalāk be connected with šav or šavā. A form *šavān- would have developed into šun-. Therefore RÄSÄNEN[46] rejected BUDENZ's etymology and JEGOROV joined him.

But in the word-list of VOLEGOV we find the form сѡндалык i.e. šundalāk, and not with the meaning "climate, weather" but as неѡ "sky". This solves both problems connected with the etymology of BUDENZ. On the semantic side it is clear that the sky was euphemistically called "the one far above", as kök "the blue" is also a similar expression for "sky". As in many Mongolian and Turkish languages the words for "sky" and "weather" are the same and the restriction to the second meaning is recent. The phonetical side also became clear. The original form was šundalāk, the regular development from šavā+n+ta+lik. This is corroborated by AŠMARIN, who cites the following data: šantalāk, šantalāx, šavāntavläk, šavāntalak "pogoda, svet". In the Sočinenija we find also the form šantalāk сѡндалык with the meanings "vek, svet ili vseleennaja", while in the grammar of VIŠNEVSKIJ (1836) šandalik "mir, pogoda" is given. Thus the regular development of -avā- i.e. u can be found in the Sočinenija and at VOLEGOV, while the -avā->a development due to the stress on the syllable after it and being originally a parallel form to šundalāk became generalized.

These are only a very few examples to indicate the value of the Chuvash word-list of VOLEGOV. I hope that the scholarly publication of this and other historical monuments of the Chuvash language will provide a solid foundation for a historical grammar of Chuvash, which will be essential if all the problems which I have mentioned above are to be solved.

Notes

1. For more details see my introductory remarks in: RONA-TAS A., — FODOR S., *Epigraphica Bulgarica* [Studia Uralo-Altaica I.], Szeged 1973, pp. 10—40, and the bibliography given there pp. 177—188.
- 1a. The name of the author was originally Tabbert. He was raised to the nobility in 1707 by King Charles XII who bestowed on him the family name, Strahlenberg. In his works published in German he used the form Strahlenberg. The full title of his work runs: *Das nord- und ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia, in so weit solches das gantze Russische Reich mit Sibirien und der grossen Tatarey in sich begreiffet, In einer historisch-geographischen Beschreibung der alten und neuern Zeiten, und vielen andern unbekannten Nachrichten vorgestellt, Nebst einer noch niemahls ans Licht gegebenen 'Tabula Polyglotta' von zwey un dreyssigerley Arten Tatarischer Völcker Sprachen und einem Kalmuckischen 'Vocabulario', Sonderlich aber einer grossen richtigen Land-Charte von den benannten Landern und andern verschiedenen Kupfferstichen, so die Asiatisch-Scythische Antiquitat betreffen; bey Gelegenheit der Schwedischen Kriegs-Gefangenschaft in Russland, aus eigenen sorgfaltigen Erkundigung, auf denen verstatteten weiten Reisen zusammengebracht und ausgefertigt von Philipp Johann von STRAHLENBERG, Stockholm, in Verlegung des Autoris, 1730.* It is possible that there existed also an other edition with an altered title-page, published in Leipzig. Reprint of the original in the series 'Studia Uralo-Altaica', Szeged 1976, contributed by J. BENJAMINS Amsterdam. There exist an English (1736, 1738) a French (1757), a Spanish (1780) and a Russian translation of the book. The English version is somewhat altered, in some places it is rearranged and complemented with additional remarks by its translator. The French edition does not contain the complete text, however, it was published together with three smaller papers on the Mongols by other authors. The Spanish translation follows the French one. The 6th, 7th and 8th chapters, and at a later date the 12th were translated into Russian by TATIŠČEV. There also exists a complete (?) Russian translation, which in spite of a number of references to it, has been never published. The manuscript of this translation has now been found and located by A. N. KONONOV (1972, 49) in the Rukopisnyj otdel Biblioteki Akademii nauk SSSR, Leningrad. No. 16.13.16. STRAHLENBERG was captured by the Russians in 1709 and was sent to Siberia. He arrived in Tobolsk on the 26th of August, 1711 and here he made the acquaintanceship of several scholars, among them TATIŠČEV and MESSERSCHMIDT. He stayed in Siberia until May 1722 arriving in Moscow at the beginning of 1723. In August he left Moscow and returned to Sweden on the 28th of August, 1723. Now the following question arises: when, where and from whom did he obtain his Chuvash material. We know that he returned to Russia for a second time, in 1736; in St Petersburg he learnt Tatar, Kalmuck and Chinese, but only after the publication of the above mentioned book. Doubts has been raised as to whether STRAHLENBERG himself collected the Kalmuck material (see KRUEGER's work cited below), and in connection with this, one has also to put the question whether his Chuvash material has been written down by himself. Answers to these questions will perhaps be given by the unpublished manuscripts of TATIŠČEV. In

his Introduction STRAHLENBERG mentions several works which he could not include in his work because "Hatte ich solche Stücke zu gegenwärtigem Theil brauchen wollen, würde ich nicht allein den Praenumerations-Preiss haben höher setzen müssen, sondern es würden auch die Herren Praenumeranten über den längern Verzug sich sehr beschwert haben, nachdem sich mit diesem die Zeit schon weiter hinaus gezogen, als ich anfanglich vermuthet habe" (C2v). There does exist an announcement from 1731 that the second volume of this book, evidently containing these materials, will be published in 1732. But nothing is known of this second book. Among the works listed by STRAHLENBERG in his Introduction item No. 3 is: *Relation einer Reise in die Kalmuckev nach den Torgauthischen Kalmucken am Wolga-Strohm*. There are three different reviews by TATIŠČEV on STRAHLENBERG's work: 1. 'Primečanija na knigu, učinennuju gospodinom Stralenbergom, imjanovannoj Severnoj vostočnoj strany Evropy i Azii, pečatannoj v 1730 g. v Stokgol'me' (CGADA f. 199, č. 2. No. 4, ROBAN 17.9.7). 2. 'Primečanija Tatiščeva na knigu Stralenberg: O kalmykah, bolgarah, o narodah sarmatikah, o baškirah, o Tomane i Tumeni, roksolanah, o Beloj i Červonnoj Rossii' (CGADA, Portfel' Millera f. 199, No. 46-13). 3. 'Tatiščev's observations on Strahlenberg's data on the Yakuts' (LOAAN f. 21 op. 5, No. 149, see KONONOV 1972, 49). It is not quite impossible that the second manuscript of TATIŠČEV refers to the second and lost book of STRAHLENBERG. A great deal of research work is being carried out into STRAHLENBERG's life and activities (see the works of KRUEGER and JARRING cited below, and their bibliography). At the present moment we are not in position to come to definite conclusion concerning the origin of STRAHLENBERG's Chuvash material. In any case it has to be dated prior to 1723 when he left Russia. Bibl.: A. HÄMÄLÄINEN, 'Nachrichten der nach Sibirien verschickten Offiziere Karls XII über die finnisch-ugrische Völker': JSFOu 49(1939) pp. 1-55; G. M. NOVLJANSKAJA, Filipp Iogann Stralenberg, ego raboty po issledovaniju Sibirii, Moscow-Leningrad 1966; G. JAROŠ, 'F.I. Tabbert-Stralenberg — sputnik issledovatelja Sibirii D.G. Messeršmidta': Izv. Sibirskogo Otd. AN SSSR, Ser. Obšč. nauk, 1968: 1, pp. 68-72; DOERFER 1965, pp. 12-13; J.R. KRUEGER, The Kalmyk-Mongolian Vocabulary in Stralenberg's Geography of 1730, Stockholm 1975; J.R. KRUEGER's Introduction to the 1976 Szeged reprint; G. JARRING, 'Strahlenberg in Schwedischer Literatur und Wissenschaft'. Eine bio-bibliographische Übersicht: UAJb 48(1976) pp. 121-123.

2. See his 'Sammlung Russischer Geschichte. Des dritten Bandes viertes Stueck: Nachricht von dreyen im Gebiete der Stadt Kasan wohnhaften heidnischen Völkern, den Tscheremischen, Tschuwaschen und Wotiacken, SPbg 1758, pp. 305-412. Some parts of this work were published earlier in the 'Ežemesjačnye sočinenija k pol'ze i uveseleniju služuščie', 1756, July, pp. 33-64, 119-145. There exists a Russian translation from 1791: 'Opisanie živuščih v kazanskoj gubernii jazyčeskich narodov etc. sočinnoe G. F. Millerom, imp. AN professorom po vozvraščenii ego v 1743 godu iz Kamčatkoj ekspedicii', SPbg 1791. G. F. MILLER, or to give the German form of his name, Gerhard Friedrich Müller together with J. G. GMELIN took part, in the Great Eastern or Second Expedition to Kamchatka (1732-1734), being member of the so called "continental branch" of that expedition. One of his tasks was to collect linguistic materials and the Chuvash material he collected in the Autumn of 1733 in Kazan. He published 275 words, 38 numerals and the Chuvash text of the Lord's Prayer. His manuscripts can be found in CGADA and LOAAN. Bibl.: M. I. BORGOJAKOV, 'Sbornik G. F. Millera po tjurkskim jazykam Sibirii': Tjurkskaja leksikologija i leksikografija 1971, pp. 122-130; JEGOROV 1949, pp. 111-142; GORSKIJ 1959, p. 27; DOERFER 1965, pp. 13-14; PETROV 1967, p. 100; SERGEEV 1969, pp. 232-234; ALEKSEEV 1970, p. 203; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 49-50; KONONOV 1972, pp. 52-53; HOVDHAUGEN 1975 pp. 271-286.
3. The title of the Göttingen MS runs: *Vocabularium continens trecenta vocabula triginta quatuor gentium, maximo ex porte Sibiricarum, Cod. ms. philol. Göttingen 261*. Facsimile edition in DOERFER 1965. The Leningrad MS is in LOAAN, Razrjad III, op. 1, No. 135. J. E. FISCHER was a friend of SCHLÖZER and a collaborator with G. F. MILLER. He

donated the Göttingen MS to the Historical Institute of Göttingen in 1756. There exist several opinions concerning the origin of FISCHER's material. According to BARTOL'D (Istorija izučenija Vostoka v Evropi i Rossii², L. 1925, 215) the material was in fact collected by TATIŠČEV and given to FISCHER before 1725. ADELUNG writes (Catherinens der Grossen Verdienste um die vergleichende Sprachkunde, StPbg 1815, p. 21) that the material was collected by FISCHER himself. DOERFER suggested (1965, 12) that the basic (Russian, German) list was compiled by FISCHER and given to TATIŠČEV, who arranged it for the collection of the material which then was written up by FISCHER, perhaps with addition of his own materials and those of MESSERSCHMIDT. L.P. SERGEEV was the first, to recognize that the Chuvash material of MILLER and FISCHER is practically identical (1969, 228-263 but GULYA beleived that FISCHER's material is his original collection pointing out that the Göttingen MS contains several important etymological observations written by FISCHER see GULYA's work below). HOVDHAUGEN (1975) made a detailed study of these Chuvash materials of MILLER and FISCHER, concluding that they are essentially the same. Now two questions of detail have been cleared up. A.P. FEOKTISTOV (Istoki mordovskoj pis'mennosti, M. 1968, pp. 86-88) found MILLER's instructions to FISCHER when the latter was sent "in place of him" (CGADA f.199, Portfel' Millera). To this Miller appended a tematically arranged list of about 700 words in Russian and German. This latter was published in 1900 (Sbornik Muzeja po antropologii i étnografii pri AN I, pp. 37-108). By collating the Göttingen and Leningrad MSS KONONOV (1972, p. 54) showed that the Göttingen MS must be the draft copy and that the Leningrad MS is in many parts different from the Göttingen MS. He also quotes MILLER (Istorija Akademii nauk G.F. MILLERA. S prodolženijami I.G. STRITTERA: Materialy dlja istorii imp. Akademii nauk VI, (1890) p. 286), who writes that he (MILLER) gave the materials collected on the instructions of TATIŠČEV to FISCHER who presented them to the Historical Institute of Göttingen. By comparing the Chuvash material of the Göttingen and Leningrad MSS and the material published by MILLER or, at least those parts concerned with the Chuvash material, I can corroborate the statement of KONONOV. The Göttingen MS is much closer to MILLER's material than Leningrad MS. Bibl.: DOERFER 1965; SERGEEV 1969, pp. 228-263; KONONOV 1972, pp. 53-55 HOVDHAUGEN 1975, 274-286 and GULYA J., 'A magyar nyelv első etimológiai szótára' [The first etymologically dictionary of the Hungarian language]: A magyar nyelv története és rendszere: Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 58(1967) pp. 87-90.

4. The questionnaire consisted of three parts. The first 107 questions were connected with history, geography, statistics and economy: questions Nos 108-197 concerned ethnography. To this a word list was added with the aim of obtaining the equivalents in the local languages. The questionnaire was compiled by TATIŠČEV in 1736, was submitted to the Russian Academy in 1737 and distributed in the same year. The last part, concerning the linguistic material, was entitled: 'Leksikon, sočinennyj dlja pripisivanja inozazyčnyh slov obretajuščihhsja v Rossii narodov dlja kotorogo vybrany tokmo takie slova, kotorye v prostom narode upotrejaemy'. The provincial chancellery office of Simbirsk sent an answer to the questionnaire which can be found now in the Archives of the Soviet Academy (fond 21, op. 5, No 149) under the title 'Vedomost' Sinbirskoj pravincijal'noj kanceljari učinennaja v otvet na voprosnye punkty, kotorye javstvujut v prislannoj s predloženija kopi'. It was written by V. BELOUSOV and signed by I. MURAMCOV and M. BAŽENOV. The answers to the questions contain some Chuvash words, terms and geographical names. On the Chuvash linguistic material contained in the answers see DMITRIEV 1960, pp. 270-273, 280-186. On the materials connected with the third part i.e. the word-list, see Nos. 3-4. I would remark here that a part from the word-lists connected with the name of TATIŠČEV K. A. KONDRATOVIČ also has compiled a Chuvash-Russian word-list in about 1737-1738, but its fate is unknown (see KONONOV 1972, p. 72; Biobibl. 1974, p. 193). There also exists an interesting ethnographical description of Chuvashia from 1740. In this year N.I. DELIL' lead an expedition to Berezov to observe the passing of the planet Mercury in front of the sun. T. KÖNIGSFELD wrote an account of this expedition and this and his diary were published in French in 1779, Amsterdam in volume XXIV of

- 'Histoire generale des voyages'. The manuscript of DELIL's account and the diary of KÖNIGSFELD, translated from German into French was given by prince I.A. DOLGORUKOV to the Russian Geographical Society in 1849. It was described by V.Ja. STRUEV in the 'Zapiski Geografičeskogo Obščestva' III(1849) pp. 50-67, and used by P.P. PEKARSKIJ in his work: 'Putešestvie akademika Nikolaja Iosifa Delilja v Berezov v 1740 godu'. The original was studied by DMITRIEV (see DMITRIEV 1960, pp. 277-279, 299-302) according to whom the original text contains a great deal of data not or not correctly cited by the French and Russian versions. On the questionnaires of TATIŠČEV and the answer from Simbirsk, see also M. NOGMAN, XVII-XVIII yözlärdege rusça-tatarça kul'jazma süzlekler, Kazan 1969, pp. 27-29.
5. Compiled on the initiative of TATIŠČEV in the uezd of Simbirsk by V. BELOUSOV, (IOAN f. 21, op. 5, No. 149). Bibl.: DMITRIEV 1960, pp. 270-298; PETROV 1967, p. 100; SERGEEV 1969, pp. 232-233; KONONOV 1972, p. 74.
 6. Also compiled on the initiative of TATIŠČEV in the same regions as No. 5. Bibl.: DMITRIEV 1960, pp. 270-307; PETROV 1967, p. 100.
 7. 'Pel'mestapir abir' tja min' baras parnja...' Written in the theological seminary of Kazan on the occasion of the visit of Catherine II. Published in: 'Duhovnaja ceremonija proizvodivšajasja vo vremja vsevoždennejšego prisutstvija eja Imperatorskogo Veličestva... Ekateriny vtoryja v Kazane', 1767. The text is republished in SIROTKIN, lc. Bibl.: GORSKIJ 1959, p. 30; SIROTKIN 1967, p. 10; V.Ja. KANJUKOV, Ot fol'klora k pis'mennosti, Čeboksary 1971, p. 13; SERGEEV 1972, p. 59.
 8. Sočinenija prinadležaščie k grammatike čuvaškogo jazyka, StPbg 1769, second edition 1775. This work, the first grammar of a Turkish language written in Russia was compiled in the theological seminar in Kazan under the guidance of the bishop of Kazan and Svijažsk Venjamin, — V.G. Puček-Grigorovič, — as stated by DMITRIEV (see bibl.). This work was translated into French by P.Ch. LEVESQUE ('Grammaire abrégé de la langue des Tchouvaches': JA 1825, pp. 213-224, 267-276). Klaproth's paper was based on this work: 'Comparaison de la langue des Tchouvaches avec les idiomes turks': JA 1828, pp. 237-246. Bibl.: JEGOROV 1951; GORSKIJ 1959, pp. 27-30; DMITRIEV 1967, pp. 153-162; SERGEEV 1969, pp. 228-232; PETROV 1967, p. 100; ALEKSEEV 1970, pp. 204-207; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 53-54; KONONOV 1972, p. 181; Biobibl. 1974, pp. 240-241.
 9. Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs, I. StPbg 1771, pp. 86-93, the Russian edition was published in 1733 (the five volumes in German 1771-1776, in Russian 1773-1788). PALLAS visited the Chuvash regions in 1768 and 1769, see KONONOV 1972, p. 56.
 10. See No. 8.
 11. 'Aval čogine tjure asla attzjane....' Written on the occasion of the opening ceremonies of the theological seminar in Kazan. Published in: 'Sočinenija v proze i stihah... na raznyh jazykov govorennye', Kazan 1781. Bibl.: SIROTKIN 1967, p. 11. (reproduction of the text); SERGEEV 1972, p. 59.
 12. The land-surveyor K. MILKOVIČ collected materials on the Bolgars and Chuvash. His manuscript is dated to 1783, but it was published first in 1827, then by MAGNICKIJ, later NIKOLSKIJ has also dealt with this manuscript. It contains prayers, the names of gods and articles of clothing. Bibl.: 'K. Mil'kovič o čuvašah': Severnyj Arhiv 1827, c. 27 No 9, 47-67, No. 10 120-139, No. 11, 210-232; N.V. NIKOLSKIJ, 'Étnografičeskij očerk Mil'koviča, pisatel'ja XVIII veka o čuvašah': IOAIE 22(1906), pp. 31-37. The 1827 edition was reedited by MAGNICKIJ in 1888, under the title 'O čuvašah'. See also: 'Istoriografičeskoe opisanie o Kazanskoj gubernii kapitana Mil'koviča': IOAIE 14:5(1898).
 13. The first is a Russian-Chuvash wordlist and has four columns. In the first are listed the Russian words. The second contains the Chuvash equivalents given by V. KOSTYČOV with the help of the official dragoman I. ALEKSEEV. The third column contains the translations suggested by the Archbishop ANTONIN. The last column contains the corrections and suggestions made by I. ALEKSEEV. (IOAN f. 94, op. 2, No. 120) Bibl.: SERGEEV 1969, pp. 236-263; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 54-56; KONONOV 1972, p. 80. The second wordlist in an augmented version of the former. The additions were made on the request of PALLAS.

- LOAAN f. 94, op. 2, No 121). Bibl.: SERGEEV 1969, pp. 236-263; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 54-56; KONONOV 1972, p. 80. The third list is entitled: 'Spisok russkikh slov s perevodom na čeremisskij, čuvašskij i mordovskij jazyki'. It was compiled by M. BEŠČERIN (Bekčurin, SERGEEV gives the name as Bekdorin), 94 f. op. 2, No. 112). Bibl.: SERGEEV 1969, pp. 236-263; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 54-56; KONONOV 1972, pp. 80; Biobibl. 1974, p. 120. The fourth list has the title: 'Spisok russkikh slov s perevodom na čeremisskij, čuvašskij, mordovskij i votjackij jazyki'. This was also compiled by BEŠČERIN, and it is in fact an augmented version of the former (LOAAN f. 94, op. 2, No. 111). Bibl.: SERGEEV 1969, pp. 236-263; KONONOV 1972, p. 80; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 54-56; Biobibl., 1974, p. 120. The last list is a copy of the former with a number of unimportant corrections (LOAAN f. 94, op. 2, No. 122). Bibl.: SERGEEV 1969, pp. 236-263; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 54-56; KONONOV 1972, p. 80. There are about 90 words which were not taken over by PALLAS; some figure in the 'Sravnitel'nye slovari' in an altered form. On the other hand there are some words in the 'Sravnitel'nye slovari' which do not figure in these list and which have to be therefore from other sources.
14. Slovar jazyka čuvaškogo (ROGPB Ermitažnaja No. 222), unknown author. This is the largest wordlist from this period, contains about 3,000 words. Bibl.: JEGOROV 1949, 124-130; KONONOV 1972, 94.
- 15-16. The full title reads: Slovar' jazykov raznyh narodov v Nižegorodskoj éparhii obitašuščih, imjanno Rossijan, Tatar, Čjuvašej, Mordvy i Čeremis. Po vysočajšemu soizvoleniju i povoleniju Eja Imperatorskogo Veličestva premudroj Gosudarvni Ekateriny Alekseevny, imperatricy i samodržicy vse rossijskoj, po alfavitu ot znajuščih onyja jazyki svjaščennikov i seminaristov pod prismotrom preosvjaščennogo Damaskina, episkopa Nižegorodskogo i Alatorskogo, sočinennoj 1785 goda. There exist two copies of this important and frequently cited work. The first copy is in the ROGPB (Ermitažnaja No 223). The second which was the draft copy is now in the Archives of the Gorki (formerly Nižegorod) region. (Kollekcija Nižegorodskoj gubernskoj učenoj arhivnoj komissi, f. 2013, op. 602, d. 187 and 186) in two volumes. This second copy is more complete and also contains a Votyak word-list. The Chuvash material was compiled by J. ROŽANSKIJ, G. ROŽANSKIJ, I. RUSANOVSKIJ and P. TALIEV. The lay-name of Damskin was D. Semenov-Rudnev. Bibl.: JEGOROV 1949; GORSKIJ 1959, p. 31; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 57-59 and A.P. FEOKTISTOV, Russko-mordovskij slovar', M. 1971.
17. Sravnitel'nye slovari vseh jazykov. Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa. Catherine II began her linguistic studies under the influence of Lomonosov and Leibniz. She used the comparative word-lists of Dumaesque and Bacmeister and also obtained materials from F. Nikolai. Later she instructed the clergy and the civil administration to gather further materials. After a while the Empress tired of the work and entrusted it to the naturalist Pallas. Pallas planned his research in 1785, he compiled instructions in 1786 and appended to them a word-list of 442 items in Russian, German, Latin and French. This list was sent to the clergy, the civil administration and to Russian diplomats abroad. On the Russian title-page the date of the first volume is 1787, on the Latin 1786. The second volume dates from 1789, in this the African and American languages are included. The Chuvash material figures among the Finno-Ugric languages under the number 64. Bibl.: SERGEEV 1959, pp. 235-236; KONONOV 1972, pp. 84-88.
18. Dejstvie nižegorodskoj duhovnoj seminarii, proishodivšee vo onoj pri okončanii godičnogo učenija v prisutstvii... Damaskina episkopa Nižegorodskogo i Alatorskogo... i pročih znamenityh osob... 1788-go goda ijunja 30-go dnja. Compositions in Chuvash. Now in the State Archives of the Gorki (formerly Nižegorod) territory (f. 2013, op. 602, No. 1450). Bibl.: SERGEEV 1972, pp. 59-60 (with a short passage in addition).
19. Kratkij katihizis perevedennyj na čuvašskij jazyk s nabljudeniem rossijskogo i čuvaškogo prostorečija radi udobnejšego onago pozvanija vosprijavših svjatoe kreščenie. Compiled by J. ROŽANSKIJ in the seminar of Nižegorod. Published in Stpbg 1800. The MS is now in the Adelung collection (ROGPB, f. 7, arh. Adelunga No. 26). Bibl.: PETROV

- 1967, p. 104; KONONOV 1972, p. 79.
20. Attja-tora pjuljut. (In the Archives of the Čuvašskij Naučno-Issledovatel'skij Institut, fond. N.V. Nikol'skogo t. 182, p. 139). Bibl.: GORSKIJ 1959, p. 30 (text); SERGEEV 1972, p. 56.
 21. Reči dlja perevodu na čuvašskij jazyk. Remark on the MS: Reçu, avec la lettre de S. E. l' Evêque Damaskin du 12 Decembre 1789 (ROGPB f. 7, arh. Adelunga, No 26-15). Bibl. SERGEEV 1972, p. 79; KONONOV 1972, p. 56.
 22. Sravnitel'nyj slovar' vseh jazykov i narečij po azbučnomu raspoložennj I-IV. Published by F.I. JANKOVIČ de Mirievo, StPbg 1790-1791. The Chuvash language is here already included among the Turkish languages. Bibl.: KONONOV 1972, p. 88.
 23. Simvol very. The MS has been received on the 16th January, 1791. (ROGPB f. 7, arh. Adelunga No 26, 18/1). Bibl.: KONONOV 1972, p. 79.
 24. Molitva Otce naš na čuvašskom jazyke (ROGPB f. 7, arh. Adelunga No. 20, 13). Bibl.: KONONOV 1972, p. 78.
 25. Molitva vostav ot sna. Molitva othodja ko snu. Molitva pered obedom. Molitva posle obeda (ROGPB f. 7, arh. Adelunga No 20, 14) Bibl.: KONONOV 1972, p. 79; SERGEEV 1972, p. 56 (according to SERGEEV one prayer was supplied by I. RUSANOVSKIJ).
 26. 'Slova, vzjatye iz francuzskih razgovorov rossijskie s čuvašskim raspoložennye po urokam.' 130 lessons (ROGPB f. 7, arh. Adelunga No 20, 16). Bibl.: SERGEEV 1972, pp. 56-57; KONONOV 1972, p. 79.
 27. Russko-čuvašsko-mordovsko-čeremisskij slovarik. Author unknown. (ROGPB f. 7, arh. Adelunga No. 20, 20). Bibl.: KONONOV 1972, p. 79.
 28. Payan ebir' apla tainatpar. Nine lines written on the occasion of the birthday of the Bishop of Kazan, Amvrosij in which the students acknowledge with gratitude the generosity of the Bishop. Bibl.: SIROTKIN 1967, p. 11 (text); SERGEEV 1972, p. 59.
 29. Russian title: Bukvar s sokraščennym katehizisom na rossijskom i čuvašskom jazykah. Chuvash title: Pičikse katihizis. The first 12 pages contain the Cyrillic and Arabic alphabets and give some instructions as to their use. Bibl.: GORSKIJ 1959, p. 34; PETROV 1967, p. 104; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 61-62; KONONOV 1972, p. 185.
 30. The MS has the title: Wörterammlung zur Vergleichung des Tschuwaschischen mit dem Tatarischen von Hofrath Neumann. The text was republished with minor alterations in: Periodičeskoe sočinenie o uspehah narodnogo prosvěščenija 42(1917) pp. 34-63. The MS: ROGPB f. 7, arh. Adelunga No. 20-19. Bibl.: KONONOV 1972, p. 79 (without mention of its publication).
 31. Svjatoj Evangel' Matfejran, Markran, Lukaran, Ionnran da čuvaš čilge sine sjavirza xoni. This translation was sent by Fraehn to Schott, who used it in his Chuvash grammar. Bibl.: PETROV 1967, pp. 104-105.
 32. Zapiski Aleksandry Fuks o čuvašah i čeremisah Kazanskoj Gubernii, 1840. A. FUCHS collected her material in the years 1830-32 and also included in her volume texts collected by D.P. OZNABIŠIN, however not always correctly. Bibl.: GORSKIJ 1959, p. 36 (with quotations); SIROTKIN 1967, pp. 12-14.
 33. Načatki hristianskogo učenija ili kratkaja svjaščennaja istorija i kratkij katehizis na čuvašskom jazyke s prisovokupleniem kratkih pravil dlja čtenija. This work was an important step in the evolution of Cyrillic Chuvash orthography and served as a model for Višnevskij. Bibl.: PETROV 1967, p. 105; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 61-62.
 34. Published in the journal Zavolžskij Muravej 3(1833). With the note: iz čuvaš Fedi. Fedi is the first known Chuvash singer. OZNABIŠIN's other materials were given to A. FUCHS, see No. 34.
 35. Načertanie pravil čuvašskogo jazyka i slovar', sostavlennaja dlja duhovnyh učilišč Kazanskoj éparhi, Kazan 1836. A preliminary publication of certain sections can be found in Zavolžskij Muravej 1832 III No. 20, 1255-57. This work was reviewed by a certain G.S. (perhaps G.S. Sabukov) in: Učenyje Zapiski Kazanskogo Universiteta 1837, 1 pp. 136-168 and on this work was based SCHOTT's grammar, SCHOTTs obtained his copy from Fraehn. Bibl.: GORSKIJ 1959, pp. 34-36; PETROV 1967, p. 105; ALEKSEEV 1970, pp. 207-216; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 62-63; KONONOV 1972, p. 187.

36. E. DESKO, *Vengerskaja grammatika s russkim tekstom i v sravnenii s čuvašskim i čeremiskim jazykom*, Simbirsk 1856. DESKÓ rejected the Finno-Ugrian relationship of the Hungarian language and he wrote his book to prove his point. Since he thought that Chuvash is a Finno-Ugrian language he contrasted Chuvash and Hungarian to demonstrate that there is no relationship between them. Deskó wrote his work in 1854 in Simbirsk where he was a teacher in the local gymnasium. Bibl.: LIGETI L., 'Deskó Endre csuvas-magyar nyelvhasonlítás' [Endre Deskó's comparative linguistic studies in Chuvash and Hungarian]: *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum* 71(1921-1923) pp. 319-320, ALEKSEEV 1970, pp. 216-217.
37. REGULY's material was published by J. BUDENZ, who also wrote a grammatical treatise on Chuvash drawing on REGULY's records and some publications obtained by REGULY. One of the Chuvash scholars who worked most closely with REGULY was S. MIHAJLOV. See: BUDENZ J., 'Reguly csuvas példamontatai' [The Chuvash sample sentences of Reguly]: *NyK* 2(1863) pp. 189-280; 'Két csuvas mese' [Two Chuvash tales]: *NyK* 16(1880) pp. 157-164. 'Csuvas közlések és tanulmányok' I-III [A grammatical treatise on Chuvash]: *NyK* 1 (1862) pp. 200-268, 353-433, *NyK* 2(1863) pp. 15-68. REGULY's material is partly included in AŠMARIN's *Thesaurus*.
38. AHLQUIST collected his material in the years 1856-57. His still unpublished material consists of a Russian-Chuvash word-list, a Chuvash-Russian word-list, a Chuvash-Swedish word-list, Chuvash texts, among them a text entitled: *Kratkoe opisanie čuvašskih sueverij* written by the archdeacon Aleksandr Protopopov of Spassk. Bibl.: 'Aus einem Briefe des Candidaten Aug. Ahlquist an Herrn A. Schiefner': *Melanges russes* III, pp. 266-285, originally published in: *Bulletin de la Classe historico-philologique de l'Academie Imp. de Sciences de St. Peterbourg* 14 (1857) pp. 145-160. The letter was read on the 22nd August, 1856. See also A. AHLQUIST, 'Ensimäinen matka-kertomus': 1856 [1857] pp. 215-237; 'Toinen matka kertomus': *ibid* 1856 [1857] pp. 238-252. The first is a somewhat expanded version of his letter written to SCHIEFNER, dated 6th August, 1856, the second letter is dated 19th February, 1857, Arkatov, Simbirsk Government. AHLQUIST's unpublished material is now in the Institute of Finno-Ugrian Studies, Helsinki University and in the Archives of the Finnish Literary Society.
39. On S.M. MIHAJLOV, the most important figure in early Chuvash cultural history, see the volume dedicated to his activities: S.M. Mihajlov pervyj čuvašskij étnograf, istorik i pisatel'. *Sbornik statej, Čeboksary* 1973 containing 8 papers. Among others he worked with REGULY and AHLQUIST. One of his most important works is *Čuvaškie razgovory i skaski* [!] sostavlennye Spiridonom Mihajlovym, Kazan 1853. A copy of this book with AHLQUIST's notes can be found among the AHLQUIST's papers (*Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Arhisto A 98, No 4297 f*), see further SIROTKIN 1967, pp. 18-30.
40. *Issledovaniya ob inorodcah kazanskoj gubernii, Zametki o čuvašah*. Kazan 1856, here 8 Chuvash folksongs. This was the main source for VÁMBÉRY's paper: 'A csuvasokról' [On the Chuvash]: *Értekezések a nyelv- és irodalomtudományok köréből* 11.5 (1883) pp. 1-50. See also *Ungarische Revue* 1883, IV. Further GORSKIJ 1959, pp. 37-38; SERGEEV 1972, pp. 64-65.
41. I found the first reference to GROMOV in AHLQUIST's above cited letter to SCHIEFNER where he writes "Zweitens zog mich der Umstand hin, dass der Geistliche Gromow hier (in Kozmodemjansk) lebt, welcher eine Reihe von Jahren an einem Tschuwasschischen Wörterbuch gearbeitet hat, das er vor mehreren Jahren handschriftlich nach St. Petersburg sandte, wo es 'post varios casus' an die Akademie der Wissenschaften gelangt ist" We know from SERGEEV that the work was passed by the censor in 1842 (SERGEEV 1972, p. 69). In the Archives of N.V. Nikolskij kept in the Naučno-Issledovatel'skij Institut, Čeboksary (otd. 1, No. 182) there is a Russian-Chuvash dictionary, in which notes have been added by more than one person at a later date. The first: *Slovar sej rassmatrival čeboksarskogo uezda, sela Jandiševa svjaščennik Petr Vasilevskij*. The second: *Prinadležit Pavlovu Fedoroviču Moikinu 1888 Kazan' Mostovaja. Sobstvennyj dom*. Then in the hand of Nikolskij: *Nastojaščij slovar est' kopija s čuv.-rus. slovarja V.P. Višnevskogo, napečatannogo v konce grammatiki, N.N-ij, 25.I.1911*. Somebody deleted this and wrote: *Nastojaščij slovar est'*

- verojatno russ.-čuv. slovar' V.P. Gromova. According to SERGEEV (loc.cit.) this MS is not Gromov's. On GROMOV see further V. MAGNICKIJ, Materialy k ob'jasneniju staroj čuvašskoj vevy, Kazan 1881, pp. 237-238; V. MAGNICKIJ, Svjaščennik Vasilij Petrovič Gromov, Kazan 1884 (here are cited two letters from GROMOV to ZOLOTNICKIJ, the first dated 1868). Bibl.: SERGEEV 1972, 68-71.
42. Permjakisches Wörterverzeichnis aus dem Jahre 1833 auf Grund der Aufzeichnungen F.A. Wolegows, Budapest 1968.
43. Slovar' čuvašskogo jazyka XIII, 1937, p. 52.
44. V.G. EGOROV, Ėtimologičeskij slovar' čuvašskogo jazyka, Čeboksary 1964, pp. 202-203.
45. 'Cseremisiz tanulmányok': NyK 3 (1864), p. 413.
46. 'Die tschuwassischen Lehnwörter im Tscheremissischen': MSFOu 47 (1920) p. 187.

Bibliographical abbreviations

Note: Research work into the historical records of the Chuvash language is at an elementary stage. In the last few years important works have been published by our Chuvash colleagues, not all of which seem to have reached scholars dealing with the history of the Chuvash language. I give here the most important and recent works cited in an abbreviated form in the footnotes. To them I would add V.G. JEGOROV's *Sovremennij čuvašskij literaturnyj jazyk v sravnitel'no-istoričeskom osveščanii*, 2nd ed. Čeboksary 1971.

- ALEKSEEV 1970: A.A. ALEKSEEV, 'Zametki o pervyh grammatičeskikh trudah po čuvašskomu jazyku': Uč. Zap. 49 (1970) pp. 203-220.
- Biobibl. 1974: Biobibliografičeskij slovar' otečestvennyh tjurkologov. Dooktjabrskij period. Pod. red. i s vvedenijem A.N. KONONOVA, Moscow 1974.
- DOERFER 1965: G. DOERFER, Ältere westeuropäische Quellen zur kalmückischen Sprachgeschichte, Wiesbaden 1965.
- DMITRIEV 1960: V.D. DMITRIEV, 'Dva opisanija čuvašej i čuvašskie slovni vtoroj četverti XVIII veka': Uč. Zap. 19 (1960) pp. 170-298.
- GORSKIJ 1959: S.P. GORSKIJ, Očerki po istorii čuvašskogo literaturnogo jazyka dooktjabrskogo perioda, Čeboksary 1959.
- HOVDHAUGEN 1975: E. HOVDHAUGEN, 'The phonemic system of early 18th century Chuvash': Central Asiatic Journal 19 (1975) pp. 274-286.
- JEGOROV 1949: V.G. EGOROV, Čuvašskie slovni XVIII veka: Uč. Zap. 2 (1949) pp. 270-298.
- JEGOROV 1951: V.G. EGOROV, 'Pervaja pečatnaja grammatika čuvašskogo jazyka 1769 g.': Tjurkologičeskij sbornik 1951.
- KONONOV 1972: A.N. KONONOV, Istorija izučeniya tjurkskich jazykov v Rossi. Dooktjabr'skij period. Leningrad 1972.
- PETROV 1967: N.P. PETROV, 'Istorija čuvašskoj grafiki': Uč. Zap. 34 (1967) pp. 100-116.
- SERGEEV 1969: L.P. SERGEEV, 'O pamjatnikah čuvašskoj pis'mennosti XVIII veka': Uč. Zap. 46 (1969) pp. 228-263.
- SERGEEV 1972: L.P. SERGEEV, 'O dojakovlevskom periode čuvašskoj pis'mennosti': 100 let etc. pp. 47-76.
- SIROTKIN 1967: M. SIROTKIN, Očerki dorevoljucionnoj čuvasskoj literatury. 2nd ed. Čeboksary 1967.
- 100 let 100 let novoj čuvašskoj pis'mennosti, Čeboksary 1972
- CGADA Central'nyj gos. arhiv drevnyh aktov, Moscow
- LOAAN Leningradskoe otdelenie Arhiva Akademii nauk SSSR

IOAE	Izvestija Obsčestva Arheologii i Étnografii pri kazanskom universitete, Kazan
NyK	Nyelvtudományi Közlemények, Budapest
ROBAN	Rukopisnyj otdel Biblioteki Akademii nauk SSSR Leningrad
ROGPB	Rukopisnyj otdel Gosudarstvennoj Publičnoj biblioteki im. M. E. Saltykova- Ščedrina, Leningrad
Uč. Zap.	Učenyje Zapiski Naučno-Issledovatel'skogo Instituta pri Sovete Ministrov Čuvašskoj ASSR

A. SCHEIBER

THE KAUFMANN-GENIZAH: ITS IMPORTANCE FOR THE WORLD OF SCHOLARSHIP

The Budapest Jewish Theological Seminary (Országos Rabbiképző Intézet) was founded on 4 October 1877. Two young scholars were invited to join its staff: Vilmos BACHER and Dávid KAUFMANN. The latter, born in Kojetein in Moravia, gained his doctorate in Leipzig and completed his studies in Breslau, now Wrocław. Only 25 years old, he was already a mature academic.

Four years later he became engaged to Irma GOMPERZ, whom he described to ZUNZ, the greying doyen of Jewish studies, as follows: "Sie hat das Herz und die Bildung, allen meinen Bestrebungen sich anzuschliessen."

His marriage provided him with the financial means to secure rare and valuable manuscripts and books, enabling him to build up one of the largest and richest private libraries of Judaica and Hebraica in the world. Some of his own research work was based on manuscripts in his own collection: he published texts, historical studies, and pioneering work in the field of Jewish art history.

I.

The Mantuan Rabbi Marco MORTARA's bequest forms the core of the collection. His illustrated codices were obtained mostly from the TRIESTE brothers of Padua and the bookseller N. RABINOWITZ.

After his sudden death on 6 July 1899, his widow continued to add to the collection; when Sámuel KRAUSZ went to Palestine she asked him to look out for Hebrew manuscripts.[1] She entrusted the preparation of the catalogue to one of her husband's past students, Miksa WEISZ. Unhappily she did not live to see its publication:[2] on 19 June 1905 she followed her husband to the grave.

Her mother Mrs Zsigmond GOMPERZ presented the entire library to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Its then president Albert BERZEVICZY in a letter of 21 December 1905 expressed his gratitude for this generous gesture and noted the importance of the collection.

The world of scholarship came to know of the manuscripts by means of the catalogue. The seven decades that have since elapsed have made a new edition necessary. This is now ready; let us hope that it will soon be published.

The work describes 591 manuscripts. The 592nd item was discovered after World War II at the bottom of a cupboard: a collection by the 16th century Italian Yedidya ben Moses.[3]

Here I would pick out only four items for comment:

The collection contains the only complete manuscript of the 11th century Mutazilite philosopher Yusuf al-Basir (A. 280). GOLDZIEHER had several chapters researched by his students as dissertations; a critical edition of the entire work is being prepared by Professor G. VAJDA.[4]

It transpires that the first Hebrew drama, the work of Leone Sommo de Portaleone from the 16th century, is represented by two manuscripts (A. 550 and 551). These were used by SCHIRMANN in his edition.[5] In June 1963 the drama was performed in Jerusalem.[6]

The two-volume Mahzor from Pesaro (A. 380) was copied in pearl lettering by Abraham ben Matityah Treves in 1481. The scenes taken from Jewish life deserve special attention from the point of view of folklore. The same scribe had produced an identical codex a year before; this was auctioned as a part of the Sassoon Collection in Zurich[7] on 5 November 1975.

There is a beautifully illustrated South German Mahzor on fine parchment dating from about 1320 (A. 384), of which B. NARKISS has shown that a further part is in the British Museum (Add. MS. 22413) and another in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS. Mich. 619). These once formed a ceremonial triptych which has ended up in three different places.[8]

I have long wanted to prepare a selection of the illustrated pages of the Kaufmann Collection for publication. It would both enrich our repertoire of medieval art and also popularize the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

II.

Let me now move on to my topic: the Genizah.

The Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic manuscripts which accumulated in the Rabbanite synagogue of Old Cairo (Fostat) — of which the earliest date from the 10th century — have been examined and indeed decimated by interested travellers for the last 110 years. These constitute the so-called Genizah, which was not only a store for damaged works but almost certainly also an official storehouse for documents and other official records. It was discovered in 1896 when SCHECHTER visited the scene and began to examine the approximately 250,000 fragments. He sent off 150,000 to the University Library, Cambridge; the remainder were bought by private and public collections in Europe, Africa and America.[9]

We do not know how KAUFMANN obtained his Genizahs. I have long been trying to locate his correspondence which may provide the answer. In London last year I unexpectedly traced it to a dealer's house, although I did not have the opportunity of reading through even the letters from Schechter, in which reference to this topic is most likely to be found.

KAUFMANN never spoke of the matter, but the following passage may be found in the memorial speech of his student Izidor GOLDBERGER a year later:



David Kaufmann (1852-1899)

III
23 x 35. 75

זה שהיה לפנינו אנו בית דין והקטנים החתומה עדותנו בשוף שער זה במדינת צור
היושבת על חוף הים תחת חבטת השמש כך היה שאמר אלוני דוד בת שלמה בן דניאל
הנוצץ בן רבני אשתו שלמה בן משה בן אהרן פקיד השוורים בעור הנודע בן
אביו קיזה ואמר אלוני מעשה היו עלי עדים בקיוון וכתבו וחתמו בכל לשון שלכות
ותנו לו לדוד בן חיים הידוע בן אברהם שהא בקיניו פקידים לזכות בו מהחש והקטנים
מחמת שאני מודה לפניכם חזירה גמורה בפה בלא שלא נשאר לי אפילו ולא בר שורתי
ולא תחת ידו מעיבון אבי שלמה בן דניאל טנאשק במעשים לא משוור זון ולמעלה ולא
משוור זון ולמעלה אלא הכל העני לידי עד פדושה אחרתה וכל כתב וכל ראיה אלוני וכל
טענה עלי היוש ואמר היוש משל או משל אחד באי מקוה בין קרוב
בין רחוק לחיבו דמון או לחיבו שבועה הכל יהיו בשילוש ומבטלים לא שריהן ולא
קוהין ואין גבית דין גלות למד מהן חובה וכל הערמה וכל קנוניה וכל השמנה
שהתנהג עליהן היוש ואמר היוש משל או משל אחד באי מקוה בין קרוב בשילוש
מעכשיו ומכרין דעיד זה בן חיים בפרושה אחד וכל מודעה ומודעה דמנדע
דופקין מן גו מודעו מדיש כל מודעו עד סוף כל מודעו שמשרתי על כל אדם בעולם
על יוריב או על יורי בית דין או על ידי דלמדי או על ידי נשיא או על ידי השב שבועה
וכתוב זה שאפילו אלק בישולין וועתין על מודעה זו לא תבטל לעולם הדי בשות
וכיוצא בה מעכשיו ביטול גמור ואפילו נתנו לי בית דין הגזל רשות למשור מודעה
ולבטל מודעה באנוסה דמנכר או באנוסה דמברר אלא ומהלכות לאמר כח
המודעות ביטלתי ומודעה זו לא ביטלתי אלא תהא אנומו מודעה בשילוח ביטול גמור
מהיום ולעולם ונדרשתי בלא שלום בלי
בפירוש ודרש קעתי כל זכות שמיטה וגמרתיה והקטנה אדון זה בן חיים בעין ישר
בלי שאלה אנוס בלי דבר וכלי שון בעת מרתה הקנה גמורה שלא להחזירה
מהיום ולעולם ומחזרת אפילו כל גלגולי הרש ושבועה ואחריות ומותר שור פני
קייבלי עלי ועל יורשתי אחריי אגב אבבע אפס קרדע כהגון וכדקון חכמים
ולחלכה דלא כמשמכות ואלא סטוססא וקינו. מי דיה זאת בת שלמה בן דניאל

Kaufmann's copy of a Genizah-document

"...it was merely the careless Hungarian connection which gave it to... Cambridge University. The scholar's only comfort is to know... that they went to a good home." [10] The source was clearly KAUFMANN himself. He at once recognized the epoch-making significance of the Genizah and wanted to buy it all; but he was too late. Budapest might today have been the shrine of the entire Genizah.

As to the date, we have some clues. I have myself seen a large cardboard box on which was written in KAUFMANN's hand the date 11 December 1894 and the words "Aus der Genisa einer egyptischen Synagoge". [11] This antedates the actual uncovering of the material by two years.

An even more surprising fact emerges from KAUFMANN's Hebrew study on the Genizah: at his instance the caves of Jerusalem too were searched for Genizah material. [12] Half a century before the discovery of the Dead Sea scrolls he had thought of such places as possible sources of records.

Incorrect data have been circulating about the number of fragments in the Kaufmann Genizah and their post-war fate. [12a] Let me therefore state that there are 750 pieces and they have not suffered any damage. [13] It is not a large collection but it happens to include much of value.

From the very beginning KAUFMANN kept up to date with research on the Genizah with great enthusiasm; indeed, he commented on a number of them. [14] He did not, however, have time to examine and study his own collection thoroughly. He furnished data only on two Egyptian friends of his favourite poet, Judah ha-Levi. He published the introduction to the latter's first letter to the greatly respected physician Samuel ha-Nagid; [15] the complete text was published some 60 years later by S. ABRAMSON. [16] Judah ha-Levi's last letter — perhaps his last written work — was found by the present writer in Cambridge. [17] KAUFMANN also published a five-line fragment of a poem by the judge Aaron Alamani, who had been Judah ha-Levi's host in Alexandria; the present writer found among the pages of the Divan here five more poems by Alamani. [18] KAUFMANN also published material on the marriage contracts (ketubot) in his possession. [19] This was all he could achieve before his time on earth was done.

Thanks to the family connection, GOLDZIHAR was the first to survey the Genizah material. He was the first of those who were more interested in the letters and documents than in the literary material. "I can say," he confessed, "that I found the contents of the documents of extraordinary interest. To say nothing of... the letters and inventories which bear direct witness to every aspect of life; in addition to their interest as objects, these relics provide important evidence both of everyday language in those far-off times and also of epistolary technique. I venture to hope that our Academy's publications will give space to the study of the documents that have been given to its Library." [20]

What was then a pious hope has become a reality in the Academy's *Acta Orientalia*. GOLDZIHAR himself gave an account of his results in the *Revue des Études Juives* under the heading 'Mélanges judéo-arabes'. [21] Of these I would mention only a study on a false Messiah, probably from the Yemen, perhaps the very one against which Maimonides' *Iggeret Teman* warns; [22] and the letter from the three stricken congregations in Fostat to the Jews of Ashkelon. [23]

For his students he suggested doctoral topics from this material: Sámuel KANDEL[24] and Vilmos STEINER[25] wrote on Arab personal documents. The work of the former was even praised by GOITEIN,[26] while the second speaks for itself, since it relates to Maimonides and the Egyptian Samuel ha-Nagid. Ch. Henrik KIS published two collections of geonic responsa, including some from Hai himself.[27] Its importance is attested by the fact that some years ago it was reprinted.[28] Few dissertations are so honoured.

Miksa WEISZ, the guardian of the Kaufmann library, took an early interest in the Genizah; his first study appeared in 1903.[28a] His studies were also collected and published in one volume;[29] a new edition, including an additional paper, was published in 1969. It is a matter of regret that two further papers remain uncollected.[30]

WEISZ was particularly attracted to the geonic period. He published a letter of the Gaon Sherira of Pumbeditha (10th century) to the Jewry of Spain and Africa appealing for funds for the Academy;[31] J. MANN showed that this was written before 967/968.[32] He also published letters from Matzliah the first Gaon of Fostat (12th century) to the Jewish communities of the Rif i.e. Egypt; and geonic responsa, including some from Paltai (mid-9th century) also from Pumbeditha, with philological explanations and textual comments.[33]

His most fortunate find was a collection of Yozereth on the book of Genesis whose author he identified from the acrostic as Samuel Yizke. He could not however identify his person, place of residence, or period. It has since emerged that he was called Samuel ha-Shelishi b. Hoshanah; he lived in Palestine and was one of the heads of the Jerusalem Academy. For as yet unknown reasons he later moved to Fostat. On the last day of December, 1011, at the burial of Putiel Hazzan he was an eyewitness to and himself a victim of a three-day pogrom, which he described on his release from prison in the Megillat Mitzraim, the Egyptian chronicle.[34] Today it is known that he composed over 400 poems, and although M. WALLENSTEIN [35] has devoted a monograph to the themes and structure of his works and to the methods of their creator — correctly reconstructing even the text of one of the items in the Kaufmann Genizah — his oeuvre still awaits publication.

The pen that fell all too early from the hand of Miksa WEISZ was picked up by Salamon WIDDER. It is to his great credit that he prepared a catalogue of the poetic fragments in the Genizah;[36] unlike DAVIDSON's Thesaurus he indexed last as well as first lines.

The catalogue was completed by M. ZULAY, the most thorough scholar in the field of Hebrew liturgical poetry.[37] He brought new life to research, too. New works came to light from the divan of the 10th century Spanish Jewish poet Isaac ibn Khalfon, the first Jewish poet to make a living out of poetry.[38] The Saragossan poet Ibn al-Tabban was completely forgotten in the 11th century; when his poetry was collected in our time, one of the 72 poems came from the Budapest manuscript.[39] A fragment of the makam poetry of the Egyptian Moses ben Levi (12th century) was also found here in Budapest.[40] The list could be continued.

WIDDER himself made some spectacular discoveries. Yannai, the first Hebrew poet in 6th century Palestine, has been resurrected in our time. Because of his difficult language and his even more difficult allusions he was long misunderstood. His rediscovery dates from 1919; by 1938 enough of his work was found to make up a book. WIDDER discovered a further 14 poems.[41] In the words of the first scholar of this topic: the publication surprised the world of scholarship amid the marching of Hitler and his armies.[42] Since that time, thanks particularly to the efforts of Z.M. RABINOWITZ[42a], enough new material has come to light to fill another volume.

His next discovery was even more sensational. Samuel ha-Nagid, statesman and general, was a minister under the Sultan of Granada in the first half of the 11th century. A scholar and poet, who even from his camp sent versified advice to his son which is today a valuable historical source, he was also a generous patron who celebrated his talented protégés in poetry and was in turn celebrated by them in theirs. Outstanding among those enjoying his patronage was the youthful and fatally stricken Salamon ibn Gabirol. Once, being young and ill and a genius, he rebelled against his patron. What followed we know from the Arabic Poetica of Moses ibn Ezra, some hundred years later (critical edition published 1975).[43] Gabirol paints the following picture of wine in one of his poems:

וצנתה כמו שלג שניר או
כמו שירת שמואל הקהתי

Your liquid is yet as cool as the melting snow of Hermon,
or as the poems of Samuel Kehati.

This gibe wounded the sensitive princely patron, proud of his poetic talent to the point of vanity. Gabirol fell from grace and this no doubt affected him both socially and financially. In his later poems he tried to make amends, and to lend substance to his written words he carried the penitential poem to the Nagid in person, caring nought for the arduous journey:

קו פהימן לבוש ערניך

Let the time come, don your ornaments!

Habent sua fata carmina. Both poems were lost. The poem begging forgiveness was found in the Genizah in 1910 by H. Brody [44], both critics and literary historians greeted this very important find. The poem which originally caused the offence, lost for nine centuries, was found in the Kaufmann Collection in 1941.[45] It is a polemical poem, a genre which was very popular in the Middle Ages, when the sword argued with the pen, the Sabbath with the weekday, the body with the soul. Here it is the sun that battles with wine. Perhaps WIDDER is right in thinking that this was not the actual insult. The poem lampooned one of the

Nagid's wine-songs and at the same time demonstrated how one ought to compose succinctly in ballad rhythm. It was this daring deed that filled the powerful minister with wrath at his fellow poet some quarter of a century his junior.

III.

After the liberation of Hungary in 1945 I began with my fellow teachers to research the Genizah systematically. The result was the work Ginze Kaufmann, Vol. I, [46] which some years ago was published abroad in a second edition (Jerusalem, 1971). It was enthusiastically received by scholars. Professor S. ABRAMSON wrote: "Our plea to the Hungarian scholars is that they should not spend their time preparing introductions and notes to the material, but should rather publish the fragments themselves...., the critical apparatus can come later either from them or from others. Their work is worthwhile even if they but bring the Kaufmann Genizah before the world of scholarship; for none but they know its true worth." [47] The Mekitze Nirdamim undertook to publish Vol. II as long ago as 1949.

We shared out the work.

Sámuel LÓWINGER published the following: two fragments from the book of Nehemiah, of which he established that the text was related to that found in the Qumran caves [48]; fragments from the Talmud Yerushalmi, Pesahim [49] which were evaluated by S. LIEBERMAN; [50] new pages of the talmudic work Metibot, [51] which according to GINZBERG was composed in Kairouan a century before the end of the Babylonian geonic period; and a geonic commentary to the tracts of Gittin and Qiddushin. [52]

István HAHN undertook work on the Arabic texts, Ernő ROTH on the halakha, [53] and Ottó KOMLÓS on the targum. [54] The latter also published a verse epistle from Daniel in Damietta to Abraham Kohen, with whom he wanted to journey to Tripoli. In all Hebrew literature there is no more detailed description of female beauty. [55] SCHIRMANN found the first part in the Frakfurt am Main Genizah [56]; WIDDER the poetic part, since he copied the whole text. My own contribution will be mentioned below.

Now the collection was accessible to foreign scholars too. ALLONY, FLEISCHER, HABERMANN, SCHIRMANN and SPIEGEL [56a] published poetic texts. GOITEIN uses a number of documents from the collection in his wide-ranging description of Jewish society around the Mediterranean. [57] His student Michael MURAD published letters to Nahrai ben Nissim, the famous Tunisian tradesman, banker and community leader, who died in 1098.

The French art historian Mendel METZGER states that the oldest illustrated Haggadah page is also to be found in our Genizah. [58]

IV.

In conclusion I would mention some of my own contributions: those relevant to the history of the 10th to the 13th century which complement the texts of others,

and have led to new results. In this connection arises the question of the complete Genizah catalogue [58a] to be published as an international undertaking. This would lead to new fragments being discovered.

1. Jewish Bible criticism and freethinking can be traced back to the beginning of the 9th century. This was the time of Hiwi, who came from Balkh, a town in Khorezm. References by Arab geographers to Bab al-Jahud ("the Jews' gate") and to al-Jahudijja ("Jewish quarter") attest to its populous Jewish quarter. The views of the Jewish-born Ibn ar-Ravendi and of Hiwi were wrought in the foundation of believers in Islam and among heretics, Rabbanites and Karaites. Hiwi's 200 questions on the Bible, probably compiled in Arabic, are now lost; they are often mentioned, cited and disputed in Jewish literature.[59]

It was perhaps his example that inspired, in the 10th century, the author of the She'elot Atikot, who also composed questions on the Bible. SCHECHTER discovered the first fragment of this much disputed text.[60] More recently it has been twice published, and also translated into French. Apart from the Dead Sea scrolls, no single work has occupied Jewish scholarship more. After half a century I found a further fragment of this manuscript in the Kaufmann Collection [61], and a decade later, on the second day of my visit to Cambridge, its continuation in the same hand.[62]

The 22 verse chapters corresponding to the letters of the alphabet contain in the closing stanza of each chapter the names of the author, his father, and his grandfather. The fourth of the four letters making up his name, the qof, was found in the Kaufmann manuscript. Clearly, his name must have been Isaac (Yitzhaq). At the time I came to the following conclusion: "We have, therefore, reached the threshold of the solution in having determined the author's name. The task of a further and luckier discoverer will be the solution itself."

I had hoped that this step, too, would be made by me; I note without envy, however, that it was made by E. FLEISCHER.[63] He identified the author as the Spaniard Isaac ha-Mahbil, who is frequently mentioned by Abraham ibn Ezra, who writes of his work that it should be burnt. All that we know of his work is, in fact, what ibn Ezra quotes. Fleischer has found that these quotations are identical with parts of the She'elot Atikot, proving beyond question that the thousand-year-old work, long believed lost, was indeed ha-Mahbil's.

2. It was SCHECHTER too who in 1903 published the remains of a booklet of poetry[64]; further pages were found in the British Museum.[65] The author and the hand are the same throughout. It is clear from the contents and the long acrostics that they are all addressed to the same person: Abraham of Baghdad, who held a high post in the Sultan's court. To his credit is the reopening of the Academy at Sura. He had a private synagogue in his palace; the Hazzan of the congregation was Babylon's greatest cantor, the liturgical poet Nahum al-Baradani. This establishes the period: about 1000. Exactly fifty years later I found in the Kaufmann Genizah the continuation of the Cambridge text[66], and fifteen years after that, another fragment in the Gaster Collection in the British Museum.[67] The poems I published also deal with his military prowess. I identified the person

thus lauded as a member of the Netira family, who owed their wealth to their connections with the Radanites (the eastern part of Baghdad was once called Radhan).[68] For three generations the Baradani family provided the court poet. I have shown that a panegyric by Solomon ben Nahum Baradani, preserved in an Oxford manuscript, was also addressed to Abraham.[69]

3. Most exciting of all is the story of Obadiah. His autograph Hebrew diary came to light between 1919 and 1953 from one London and three Cambridge manuscripts. The period could be identified from the colophon of the Cincinnati prayer-book: he became a Jew in 1102. In 1954 I published from a Budapest manuscript the beginning of the diary, in which he writes of his ancestry[70]: he was born in Oppido Lucano, into a noble Norman family. His original name was Johannes, which he later changed to Obadiah, a name that was fashionable in the Middle Ages, which means *servus dei*, δούλος κυρίου. [71] On the first anniversary of his ordination as priest he has a vision; as a result he changes his faith. Further motivation may have been provided by the Messianism of the period and the study of the Bible in the original Hebrew.[72] He became a proselyte in the land of his birth.[73] He learns Hebrew — in addition to French, Italian, Latin and Arabic — and writes of his experiences in an attractive Biblical style, and indeed progresses as far as to attempt the composition of a poem in Hebrew. I found this in Cambridge.[74] One can hear in it the sound of the medieval Church hymn. He later settled in Egypt, where he perhaps spent his life as a copyist.

In the E.N. Adler Collection (New York) there is a Genizah page which has on it a piyyut with neuma notation. N. GOLB and I realised independently but at the same time, in 1965, that this too was in Obadiah's hand. He is thus the first transcriber of a Hebrew melody.[75] The topic has since spawned an enormous quantity of literature. The melody was sung in Budapest by a choir four years ago. In April 1970 Oppido was host to a congress on archaeology, art history and folklore; on this occasion a street was named after Obadiah, the town's first writer.

Recently J. PRAWER has subjected the autobiography to scrutiny.[76]

4. About this time there is news of a colleague of his. In 1099 there arrives with the Crusaders in Jerusalem an unnamed person 'pure of heart'. He is taken by Arab pirates, but resisting both threats and glittering promises he converts to Judaism. His new coreligionists secure his release, and he sets off for Egypt. The story comes from a verse epistle in the Kaufmann Genizah.[77]

5. *Il mondo e poco* — was a phrase much used in the time of the Renaissance. Distances had already shrunk earlier. In the seventh decade of the 10th century Karaism began to spread in Byzantium. Constantinople therefore turned to the famed Meshullam ben Qalonymos of Mainz to help it in its struggle against the sect. He replied in a long letter, of which the beginning is in our collection.[78] Perhaps some day the rest of it will appear. How did his fame spread as far as Byzantium?

6. It was from Baghdad that Joseph ben Jacob ha-Bavli, otherwise Joseph Rosh ha-Seder, went to Fostat and was active there at the end of the 12th century. He was the subject of my first Genizah publication,[79] and has interested me ever since over the last 30 years. Earlier the view was current that he was a man of many plans and large promises, of which none were ever realised.[80] He designed only title-pages and composed only prefaces. I compiled a list of his characteristic written works and it emerged that in the entire medieval period no-one had produced such a quantity of writing. I have reached the number 275 in cataloguing his work, but this cannot be regarded as a final figure.[81] It is thanks to him that many valuable relics of Hebrew literature have survived: for he copied them. There are a number in the Kaufmann Collection. In addition, he was probably a bookseller: this would account for the 20 booklists in his hand,[82] two of which list over 200 items. I have published four of these lists, including one here in Budapest.[83]

It would be most important to collect and publish together the 120 or so booklists that have been found so far. The volume would provide invaluable information on Hebrew book culture in the Middle Ages.

I should like to mention a more personal project: I should like to prepare a catalogue of Genizah prose. So that I might say, with János Arany, "This one work I truly owed."



I have reached the end of my theme. It is fitting that I should conclude with the words of the one-time owner of the collection and the person after whom is named, words which I confess never fail to move me:

"And if they publish these treasures, it will be realised that I did not err and that my hopes were not without foundation. Perhaps there will be revealed before our eyes things we never even dared guess at... When ages have passed... and the results will be compared with my efforts... it will be seen of what my dreams were made." [84]

I hope I have shown that the prophecy made eighty years ago has been proved completely correct.[85]

The living grow old; dreams never.

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(Nancy)

**UN FRAGMENT DE LA MASSORAH MAGNA
DU TARGUM DU PENTATEUQUE DANS LA COLLECTION
D. KAUFMANN DE BUDAPEST (MS. K. G. 592 B.M. 6)**

I

Le fragment de la Massorah Magna du Targum du Pentateuque que nous éditons ici a été retrouvé parmi les fragments inédits des manuscrits, en provenance de la Genizah du Caire, dans la collection qui porte aujourd'hui le nom de David Kaufmann et que, celui-ci, avait eu l'heureuse initiative de réunir alors qu'il vivait et enseignait à Budapest. Les manuscrits ont été offerts après sa mort et celle de son épouse à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie des Sciences de Hongrie et le Département des Manuscrits Orientaux dont nous fêtons aujourd'hui le XXV^e anniversaire à l'immense privilège de conserver ces documents inestimables, qu'il met si aimablement à la disposition des chercheurs et des savants. Nous avons retrouvé ce fragment manuscrit au cours du récent voyage d'étude que nous avons accompli en Hongrie, et particulièrement à Budapest, sous les auspices de l'Académie des Sciences de ce pays, que nous voulons remercier ici pour l'aide amicale qu'elle nous a prodiguée.

La publication de ce document prend la suite des éditions successives des fragments de la Massorah Magna [Mm] du Targum du Pentateuque auxquels nous nous sommes consacré depuis quelque dix années [1]. Nous tentons de réunir ainsi le catalogue le plus large possible des travaux des maîtres traditionnaires qui ont rédigé, puis colligé et enfin transmis le texte de la paraphrase araméenne du Pentateuque, sous la forme qu'ils considéraient comme la plus canoniquement représentative du texte hébreu. Tel il devait être entendu, compris et enfin lu dans le texte original pour l'édification du peuple et pour la garantie de sa vie religieuse et sociale.

Nous avons tenté par ailleurs [2] de montrer comment avaient oeuvré les maîtres traditionnaires pour établir le texte du Targum du Pentateuque. Celui-ci représente en soi la première exégèse juive officiellement rédigée du Pentateuque, qui atteint ainsi à une canonicité de fait. Le texte qui en est résulté cerne le plus strictement possible le sens obvie de l'original hébreu, et c'est à lui que se référeront par la suite aussi bien tous les grands

commentateurs du Moyen Age que nombre de philologues modernes. La concomitance de l'oeuvre des paraphrastes avec l'oeuvre des massorètes s'était alors imposée à nous, et la seconde nous semblait et nous semble de plus en plus découler de la première. La paraphrase canonique en araméen n'ayant pu être établie que sur un texte hébreu représentant, sans conteste possible, celui qui était unanimement accepté par la tradition juive, le commentaire que nous présentons aujourd'hui viendrait si cela était encore nécessaire confirmer cette opinion. Il faut toutefois rappeler au lecteur que les catalogues quantifiés des équivalents sémantiques araméens usités dans la paraphrase qui connotent chacune des expressions hébraïques du texte original ont dû servir au départ à l'établissement de l'archétype du Targum. Ces mêmes listes, par la suite, ont servi à garantir la transmission du texte araméen, et, par là, à conserver les choix exégétiques des maîtres traditionnaires.

II

Le fragment édité ici porte, d'une part, dans la marge inférieure, tracé au crayon, le numéro 89, qui doit représenter la cote d'un recensement ancien, fait par Kaufmann ou peut-être par Goldziher, des fragments en provenance de la Genizah du Caire et, d'autre part, dans le haut de la marge extérieure, le chiffre 6 tracé au crayon. Nous lui donnons aujourd'hui une cote que nous avons retrouvée à la suite du classement qui a été opéré depuis, classement qui a été tenté avec bonheur en fonction du contenu thématique des fragments. Ceux-ci sont conservés précieusement dans des dossiers portant les numéros 592 à 594 de la collection Kaufmann; celui qui nous intéresse porte le numéro général du dossier de classement 592, suivi de la mention de la section thématique, suivi du numéro de pièce: Ms. K. G. [Kaufmann-Genizah] 592, B. M. [Biblia magyarázati] n° 6. C' est un petit fragment de parchemin d'une seule pièce de 152 x 92 mm dans ses plus grandes dimensions, avec une surface écrite d'environ 132 x 76 mm, sur 24/25 lignes de justification, réglé horizontalement au poinçon. Si le fragment est bien le résidu d'un petit cahier contenant des éléments de la Mm du Targum du Pentateuque, nous sommes en présence du feuillet de droite d'un bifolium plié, dont la marge externe est à gauche pour le recto et le pli de la couture à droite. Le fragment a été très convenablement rogné et présente encore sur les bords externes les traces de cette coupure à l'équerre.

Écrit au calame avec une encre noire unie, il présente les caractéristiques d'une écriture carrée orientale, égyptienne, rapide et fruste, à laquelle nous sommes habitués pour ce type de commentaires exhaustifs non liés au texte sacré lui-même[3]. On peut remarquer cependant le fréquent usage qu'il fait du 'aleph' et du 'lamed' liés, ainsi que de la lettre 'aleph tronquée pour marquer l'abréviation du mot 'orayyeta' - Pentateuque -, lorsque l'enseignement porte exclusivement sur cette partie de la Bible, signes auxquels nous avons dû renoncer dans notre

édition pour des raisons typographiques. Le scribe du commentaire a doté un certain nombre de mots de vocalisations de type tибérien, qui semblent souvent aberrantes et dont nous ferons ressortir les difficultés au cours de l'édition. L'abréviation ט pour le Tétragramme est celle qui est habituellement utilisée dans les manuscrits d'origine tибérienne et les abréviations massorétiques dont nous donnerons le catalogue en fin de notre édition, sont à mettre en rapport avec celles usitées dans les commentaires de la Mm tибérienne de la Bible hébraïque. Les sigles représentant la somme des versets des deux péripécopes apparaissant dans le fragment [4], sont connus par la tradition tибérienne et figurent ordinairement dans les manuscrits bibliques occidentaux sans divergence aucune. Il faut remarquer simplement que le scribe n'a proposé aucun symbole arithmologique représenté ordinairement par un nom propre qui, selon une tradition plus tardive, accompagne le sigle du nombre des versets de la péripécopie [5]; de plus, il donne de façon très claire le nom des péripécopes sous la forme couramment usitée. Cependant, lorsque le scribe cite un des cinq livres du Pentateuque, la façon dont il les cite semble référer à une forme plus ancienne que celle que nous connaissons aujourd'hui (cf. Nb. 10,2; 10,31). Par contre, il utilise les expressions massorétiques courantes sous Nb. 10,9 pour opposer le texte de la Torah au livre de Josué. Sur le point précis des dénombrements de versets, des noms des péripécopes et du symbole פ pour פרשה en marge du commentaire, il faut noter ici que c'est l'usage remarqué dans les plus anciens manuscrits orientaux, ce qui confirmerait notre sentiment sur l'antiquité relative du document que nous présentons. Le scribe utilise les deux points superposés [:] pour indiquer la fin d'un enseignement sur un point précis du texte et il n'utilise pratiquement pas le point unique [.] pour séparer les citations.

La disposition que nous avons observée pour notre édition est celle qui nous semblait la meilleure pour conserver la forme didactique du commentaire. Nous avons accentué cette forme en soulignant les titres des listes ou les mentions des ouvrages et des péripécopes qui regroupent les citations de deux leçons parallèles mais divergentes sur une ou plusieurs expressions [6], ainsi que le titre des listes quantifiées [7]. Pour permettre au lecteur de situer précisément chaque enseignement, nous avons pris la peine de donner toutes les références textuelles en marge, en soulignant la référence sous laquelle est donnée la leçon massorétique dans le commentaire [8].

MS. K. G. 592 B.M. 6

RECTO	הכפות רבזיכיא תרג' :	Nb. 7,86
	ושעירי עזים וצפירי בני עיזי תרג' :	Nb. 7,87
	<u>זבח דמ' לנכסח ב' בא.</u>	
	הדין	<u>Nb. 7,88</u>
	וישחט את השור ואת האיל זבח השלמים אש' לעם :	Lv. 9,18
	וידבר אלין ומתמלל מתרג' בא :	Nb. 7,89
	מדיבר ומיתמלל מתרג' בא :	<u>Nb. 7,89</u>
	קעו פ	
	בהעלתך	<u>Nb. 8,1-12,16</u>
	קריבית לקדמי. אקרישית קדמי ל ק סימן :	<u>Nb. 8,16-8,17</u>
	קדמ' ככל..ללויים..ישראל כ ל ז סימן :	<u>Nb. 8,20</u>
	בתר' כאשר..על הלויים..להם ש ע ס סימן :	Nb. 8,22
	רחקה נקוד על הי. ולמה נקוד מלמד	<u>Nb. 9,10</u>
	שלא היתה רחקה אלא מאסקופת	
	העזרה ולחוץ :	
	וידבר: [. . .] ולמסע	<u>Nb. 10,2</u>
	אלה הדברים: למסע :	Dt. 10,11

ו' פסוקין דאית בהון ארבעה ארבעה קורשין.

על פי יל' יחנו	<u>Nb. 9,23</u>
ואם מִשָּׂא	<u>Jer. 23,38</u>
קול [ש] שון	<u>Jer. 33,11</u>
ויקרא אסא .	<u>2 Chr. 14,10</u>

° ° ° ° קדמ' ובחל']

אור': והרעלם	<u>Nb. 10,9</u>
יהושע: והריעתם :	<u>Jos. 6,10</u>

אתכם רמ' לכו' i בא.

הצר הצ' [י].-	<u>Nb. 10,9</u>
וצררו אתכם.	<u>Nb. 33,55</u>
להיטיב אתכם :	<u>Dt. 28,63</u>

יבִּכְתּוּ כול' תיר דגש: (Nb. 10, 5, 6, passim)

והיג דמח' ויהון דמיש בהון ז'.

לזכרון	<u>Nb. 10,10</u>
לחקת ראלה מסעי	<u>Nb. 35,29</u>

:(Nb. 33, 1-36, 13)

הליכה דמח' מיתייא יז' בסיפ'.

לכה אתנו	<u>Nb. 10,29</u>
לכה נא ארה לי	<u>Nb. 22,6</u>
לכה קבה	<u>Nb. 22,11</u>
הלך עמנו	<u>Nb. 22,14</u>
מהלך אלי	<u>Nb. 22,16</u>

ושלֹא Nb. 22,17

מִן אַרְם Nb. 23,7

שֶׁנִּי כֹהֵ Nb. 23,7

לֹךְ נֹא אַחִי Nb. 23,13

לֹךְ [נֹא] אַקְחֵךְ Nb. 23,27

לִכְהֵ אִיעֶצֶךְ : Nb. 24,14

[הִלַּכְתָּ אֵלַי] Nb. 22,37

Nb. 10,31 לְעֵינַיִם בְּעֵינֵךְ מִתְרֹגֵ כֹאז :

III

RECTO

- Nb. 7,86 Le commentateur signale la forme emphatique plurielle prise par l'expression בְּזִיכִיָּא en araméen, qui rend le dernier בְּזִיכִי du verset a la différence du pluriel construit כִּפּוֹת du verset et de l'emphatique singulier בְּזִיכָא qui rend habituellement, en araméen, l'hébreu כִּף. L'auteur utilise une méthode pédagogique très simple pour mettre en évidence le statut hapax de la forme emphatique בְּזִיכִיָּא et, par là, de son construit בְּזִיכִי.
- Nb. 7,87 L'expression araméenne, qui est un nouvel hapax du Targum Babylonien du Pentateuque, est à nouveau mise en évidence ici. Il est intéressant de noter qu'une futile querelle de grammairien ouverte dans les cercles de la Synagogue moderne est résolue, s'il était besoin, par l'enseignement donné ici : l'expression hébraïque courante שְׁעִיר עִזִּים est rendue au singulier par l'araméen עִזִּים בְּרַ עֲפִיר, alors que le pluriel וְשְׁעִירֵי עִזִּים, dont c'est la seule attestation dans le Targum Babylonien du

Pentateuque, est rendu par $\text{וּצְפִירִי בְּנֵי עֹזִי}$, à la différence de l'hapax שְׁעִירֵי עֹזִים de Lv. 16,5 rendu par צְפִירֵי עֹזִי . Les auteurs du Targum usent sans équivoque possible pour le singulier araméen בר du pluriel araméen בְּנִים , cst. בְּנֵי .

- Nb. 7,88 Le massorète a pris soin de relever les deux seuls exemples du Targum où le mot זֶרַח , qui n'est pas précédé dans sa forme hébraïque du lamed marquant le génitif, en est doté en araméen, à la différence de Lv. 3,6 et 23,19, les deux occurrences qui n'ont pas été relevées par l'auteur, où la même expression araméenne rend l'original hébreu qui dans ces deux cas est doté du lamed préfixé. On doit noter encore que les expressions hébraïques לִזְרַח [9], וּלְזֶרַח [10], לְשִׁלְחִים [11] et וּלְשִׁלְחִים [12], beaucoup plus fréquentes, sont toutes rendues aussi par l'araméen לִנְכַס et וּלְנִכַס , sans que le massorète les ait relevées à cause du nombre élevé de leurs occurrences, selon les règles qui président ordinairement à la constitution des catalogues massorétiques.
- Nb. 7,89 Le participe $\text{'itpa}^{\text{c}}\text{al}$ araméen מְחַלֵּל n'est utilisé que trois fois en tout dans le Targum Babylonien du Pentateuque. Sous Ex. 33,9 il connote le sens exprimé par l'accompli $\text{pi}^{\text{e}}\text{el}$ hébreu régissant la particule עַם , rection qui est maintenue dans le rendu araméen. De la même façon, régissant la particule עַם , le participe araméen connote en fin du verset 7,89 l'inaccompli converti $\text{pi}^{\text{e}}\text{el}$ hébreu qui régit la particule אֵל rendue par la particule araméenne עַם . Ce cas est relevé par l'auteur du commentaire, comme il relève encore l'usage du même participe araméen régissant la même particule pour rendre l'unique occurrence du $\text{hitpa}^{\text{c}}\text{el}$ hébreu contracté אֵל מְחַלֵּל de la Torah [13]. L'expression araméenne מְחַלֵּלֵי , qui sert de marque du collectif dans les commentaires de la Massorah, indique simplement ici les deux cas du verset. On notera enfin que la lectio plena du deuxième exemple du Targum, si elle n'est pas rapportée par les éditions savantes, n'est pas plus aberrante que la lectio plena מְחַלֵּלֵי que l'on trouve dans certaines éditions modernes.
- Nb. 8,1 Le sigle hébreu פ indique le début de la nouvelle péricope dont le nom suit immédiatement. Le sigle $\text{קֹיִן} = 176$ représente le nombre de versets de la péricope précédente, en accord avec tous les décomptes massorétiques connus.
- Nb. 8,16-8,17 Le scribe auteur du commentaire propose le symbole mnémonique לִק comme signe pour différencier les deux constructions araméennes parallèles dans deux versets successifs connotant, la première, l'hébreu $\text{לִקְחָתִי אִתָּךְ לִי}$ et, la seconde, $\text{הַקְדַּשְׁתִּי אִתָּךְ לִי}$. Dans le premier cas, la préposition locative araméenne qu'utilisent les auteurs du Targum pour réduire l'aspect

anthropomorphique de l'original hébreu, est précédée du lamed marquant la possession, ce qui n'est pas le cas de la seconde référence. L'auteur, jouant sur l'expression massorétique usuelle לא קרי - לך - n'est pas lu - l'utilise comme symbole mnémonique pour signaler la différence entre les deux constructions araméennes, la première ayant un lamed précédant la préposition, la seconde commençant directement par le qoph de la préposition.

Nb. 8, 20-8, 22 La note que nous trouvons ici s'adresse à la structure du texte massorétique et non au texte du Targum. Au moyen de l'enseignement analogique si particulier aux usages massorétiques, que nous venons de voir implicitement utilisé dans la note précédente, l'auteur du commentaire signale de façon elliptique au lecteur et au scribe la différence de construction du texte hébreu dans les deux versets successifs 8, 20 et 8, 22 :

8, 20 נכל [אשר צוה יי את משה] ללויים [כן עשו] להם בני ישראל :
8, 22 כאשר [צוה יי את משה] על הלויים [כן עשו] להם :

Les sigles hébreux donnés comme symboles mnémoniques rappellent, au moyen des lettres caractéristiques des éléments divergents, les différences de construction entre les deux versets du texte hébreu fixé par la Massorah.

Nb. 9, 10 Le point extraordinaire, signe exponctuant le hé du mot hébreu intéressé, est une correction massorétique du texte hébreu que l'on connaît de haute antiquité et qui a été proposée par les premières écoles de scribes-massorètes. Ce point d'exponctuation appartient à la collection des Dix Points Extraordinaires dans la Torah [14], auxquels s'ajoutent quatre points dans les Livres Prophétiques et un dans les Hagiographes. L'édition de Bomberg II propose en Massorah parva [Mp] la même note que dans notre fragment. Le manuscrit B 19 a de Lénigrad signale sub loco "15 cas dans la Bible dont 10 dans la Torah". La mention de cet enseignement difficile à apprécier a été donnée explicitement au nom des Tana'im: r. Eliézer b. Hyrcanus et r. Yossé ha-Gelili, et se retrouve dans le Sifrei Nb. 9, 10; M. Pessaḥim, IX, 2; Tos. Pessaḥim, VIII, 3; Abbot de-R. Natan; Massekhet Sopherim; BaMidbar Rabbah; Diqduqēi ha-Ṭe'amim; Massorah Magna, etc. Il ne semble toutefois pas possible d'inférer de l'absence du nom des auteurs rabbanites que le commentaire fût d'origine qaraïte.

Nb. 10, 2 Sous cette référence, l'auteur du commentaire signale, grâce au procédé de la comparaison analogique, les deux formes hébraïques hapax de ce mot à l'état absolu qui figurent dans

le livre des Nombres avec le waw conjonctif et, dans le Deutéronome, sans le conjonctif. Cet enseignement porte non sur le texte du Targum, mais sur la forme du texte hébraïque lui-même. De ce type d'enseignement sont issues les notes massorétiques qui signalent par un lamed dans la Mp marginale des manuscrits et des éditions l'unique occurrence de chacune de ces formes [15]. La vocalisation proposée par le scribe pour Nb. 10,2 est celle qui figure de façon générale dans 1 R. 6,7 et Job 41,18 et, selon quelques manuscrits ainsi que dans les éditions du Pentateuque de Bologne de 1482 et de la Complutensis de 1514-1517, pour Dt. 10,11; elle ne peut donc pas être considérée comme fautive.

Nb. 9,23

L'auteur du commentaire revient légèrement en arrière dans son enseignement, au verset 23 de ce chapitre, où il se met en devoir de donner le catalogue quantifié des quatre versets du Pentateuque qui ont la particularité de proposer 4 fois le Tétragramme à la suite l'un de l'autre dans le même verset. Cette liste fort rare n'est citée que par Shelomoh Yedidiah Norzi dans son commentaire Minḥat Shay sous 2 Chr. 14,10 et reprise dans l'énoncé alphabétique de la Mm donnée par Frensdorff [16].

... וַיְהִי וַיְהִי וַיְהִי וַיְהִי L'enseignement du massorète se poursuit par un membre de phrase qui semble porter sur un enseignement par analogie entre une expression première et une expression qui suit dans l'ordre du texte. Actuellement illisibles pour nous, nous n'avons pu décider si ces mots faisaient suite à l'enseignement qui précédait ou formaient un enseignement particulier portant sur une autre partie du texte que nous n'avons pu localiser jusqu'à présent.

Nb. 10,9

Le massorète, au moyen de l'exposé analogique, relève la forme hébraïque hapax de la 2e personne du masculin pluriel du hiph^cil précédé du waw conversif, sub loco et l'oppose à celle dont la graphie hébraïque, dans Jos. 6,10, présente une lectio plena. Dans le manuscrit B 19 a, la première leçon est notée lamed, pour hapax, dans la Mp marginale, dont la source doit certainement être recherchée dans ce type de note massorétique.

Nb. 10,9

L'auteur du commentaire propose sous cette référence les trois cas où, dans le Targum du Pentateuque, la particule déclivée אַחֲכֵּי est rendue par l'araméen לַכּוּן , qui restitue en général l'hébreu לַכּ . Leçon déjà citée par Berliner sous la même référence [17].

- Nb. 10, 5 L'expression araméenne לְבַתָּא citée par l'auteur est celle que l'on trouve dans les manuscrits de tradition babylonienne, ainsi que dans l'édition de Berliner [18], pour l'hébreu תְּרוּעָה , alors que les éditions courantes proposent la forme יְבוּא . La vocalisation et la ponctuation proposées par l'auteur marquent bien la dépendance de ce commentaire avec la dernière forme du système intervocalique de Tibériade, dont le dagesh est la marque.
- Nb. 10, 10 Nouvelle liste quantifiée où l'auteur propose l'équivalent araméen וְהָיוּ de l'hébreu וַיְהִי , dont la paraphrase semble prêter à confusion. La leçon est celle des meilleurs manuscrits babyloniens et de l'édition de Berliner [18], alors que dans nombre de manuscrits on trouve la leçon וַיְהִי sub loco, et sous Nb. 35, 29 la leçon proposée par notre scribe, qui ne cite pas par ailleurs les très nombreux cas où la paraphrase ne pose pas de problème.
- Nb. 10, 29 Sous cette référence, l'auteur du commentaire rapporte une longue liste de 12 cas où les différentes flexions de la $\sqrt{\text{hēbraïque}}$ הָלַךְ sont rendues dans ce livre par différentes flexions de la $\sqrt{\text{araméenne}}$ אַתָּא , qui connote en araméen, d'une façon générale, plutôt le sens qu'a la $\sqrt{\text{בּוֹא}}$ en hébreu. Le scribe ayant annoncé 12 cas et n'ayant cité que 11 références, nous avons rajouté la dernière, qui concerne Nb. 22, 37. La liste est ainsi exhaustive pour le livre des Nombres.
- Nb. 10, 31 Le scribe relève le seul cas où l'hébreu לְעֵינַיִם , avec le lamed comparatif est rendu dans le Targum du Pentateuque בְּעֵינַךְ avec un bet au sens instrumental – dans tes yeux –, alors que dans de nombreux autres cas le pluriel décliné de ce mot précédé du lamed est rendu par l'équivalent araméen toujours précédé du lamed [19]. On mesurera la difficulté d'interpréter la concision de l'expression hébraïque traduite par Dhorme : "... tu seras pour nous comme des yeux" [20] et que Segond, dans la Bible Protestante [21], comme la Bible du Rabbinat [22] traduisent : "... tu nous serviras de guide". Le Targum Babylonien du Pentateuque serre le texte hébreu de fort près : $\text{חֲזִיתָ בְּעֵינַךְ}$ alors que le Tj métaphrase l'hébreu par : $\text{וְהָיָה חֵבִיב עָלֶיךָ כְּנֶכֶד עֵינָא}$ et le Neofiti par : $\text{וְהָיָה לְךָ לְסִדְרוּתָא}$ au sens assez éloigné de témoignage [23].

הכפות רבות וביא תרג. ושל עשרות
וצפדיבט עזותי תרג. וצח דג' לעלות
בבא דין וישחט אתה שחט את האול
וצח השלם סאע לעם. זידבא עליו
ומעמל מתרגבא: מדבר דין וקול
מתרגבא: קולו בגשמי
קרובד קרוב. קרדושות קרמו לל
קרמו ככל ללום ישראל כל סוכן
בת כאשר על כלום דלם שיעם סימן:
דחק נקוד על דל וליה נקוד אמר
שמה היתה דחקתא נאסרן קופתא עיה
ולחויין. וידבא ולמסע אה הדבור
למסע ד פסוק דאית בהון אית
אית דפסוק שין על פיה יתנו ואם משה
ד פסוק דאיתא קדג ובתה
ד פסוק דאיתא: אלו והד עתם משה
ד פסוק דאיתא דלון בל דהער
ד פסוק דאיתא: דיוטוב איתם:
ד פסוק דאיתא תיו דגש: דהין דמת
ד פסוק דאיתא בהון ז לזלון דהער דאית
ד פסוק דאיתא דמת מיתא יב בסין
ד פסוק דאיתא נא אדה לי לבה קבה
ד פסוק דאיתא אלה ושל מן אדם
ד פסוק דאיתא לבה אחרך לבה
ד פסוק דאיתא לשנים בשין מתרגבא:

6/8
 זכא למאכשן לן לאכשן לטור: וזכור
 בזכור וזכור דאיתעבידא לנא עלמא
 ארנן: וזכור וזכור דאיתעבידא לנא
 אלה הדברים גבור דאיתעבידא ליה:
 והיה קוב טבא לן טבא לט:
 גדולא לן גדולא לט: שון שון
 לט נפקין לן: לפתחיה לן בידע
 מתוך בא: וסוף כשן וחזיה כחיתון
 בא: שון דמתוך עבדן שון
 העם אשר שאלקשן אשר לא למד
 את כל העם לכל מתוך בא: אכז
 וזכור: ומעא לקב היסטקון
 שון בא: במשה דמת עם משה
 בזכור וזכור העם בכל בות
 עון מתוך בא: מנרעק דמת
 בות סגורא: על לט: על לט
 אס לט אס לט: בפניה דמת
 בא: מתוך דמת מתוך דמת
 קלן: שילחן: אציל
 ויהם טא האזין הסכת ושמי: עמי
 דמ שון קלן: בזכור עמלק ושב וזכור
 את עמלק: לו מתוך לון דמת מתוך
 תלג: קלן דמלק קרא ותלג כמון:
 דמלק דמלק ומינורא דמלק תלג באן:
 87

VERSO

Nb. 10,31 אל נא

למא כען לנ[הרדעאי]
לא כען לסור[אי]:

וגבורן נ בא.

Nb. 10,31 וגבורן ראיתעכירא לנא .

Nb. 21,14 על נחלי ארנון

Nb. 10,31 וירבר: וגבורן ראיתעכירא לנא

Dt. 33,17 אלה הרברים: גבורן איתעכירא ליה

Nb. 10,32 והיה הטוב

טובא לנ[הרדעאי]

טבא לס[וראי]:

Nb. 11,7 [הפולח]

קרולחא לנ

קרולחא לס:

Nb. 11,8 שטו

שיטין לס

נפקין לנ:

Nb. 11,10 לפתח אהליו בחרע מחרג בא:

Nb. 11,7 ועינו כעין וחזויה כחיוז [מחרג] בא:

ע[ש]ו דמתרג עכרין ג .

שטו העם	<u>Nb. 11,8</u>
אשר שנא	Dt. 12,31
למען אשר לא ילמדו :	Dt. 20,18
את כל העם לכל מתרג בא :	Nb. 11,12
אנכי [ב]ני מת בא :	Nb. 11,12
ומצא הליון כ [ובת] היספֿקֿגן מתרג בא :	Nb. 11,22
<u>במשה דמת עס משה כ בא.</u>	
דבר יי	<u>Nb. 12,2</u>
וידבר העם :	Nb. 21,5
בכל ביתי עמי מתרג בא :	Nb. 12,7
מצרעת קד : [חו]רא .	<u>Nb. 12,10</u>
בתר : סגירא :	Nb. 12,10
צלי לם	<u>Nb. 12,12</u>
צל לז	
אסי לם	<u>Nb. 12,13</u>
אס לז	
כפניה כה מתרג בא :	Nb. 12,14
מחצרות קרא מחצר [ות] תרג :	Nb. 12,16

קלו	פ
שלח לך	Nb. 13,1-15,41
אצית	
ג [?] .	
ויהם	Nb. 13,30
ולא האזין	Dt. 1,45
הסכת ושמע :	Dt. 27,9
[:] [ושמע]	Nb. 23,18
עמלק רמ עמלקאה	
ז בא .	
עמלק יושב	Nb. 13,29
וירא את עמלק :	Nb. 24,20
לו מתנו	Nb. 14,2
לוי דמיתנא הדג חרג :	
קהל דויפל קרא וחרג באו :	Nb. 14,5
[ולי] דסר צלם ומימרא ולי חרג באו :	Nb. 14,9

VERSO

- Nb. 10,31 L'auteur du commentaire relève une divergence de paraphrase à propos de l'expression אל נא — ne pas — entre les écoliers de Neharde^a et de Sura', inconnue de Berliner [24]. La leçon de Sura' a prévalu dans les meilleurs manuscrits de tradition babylonienne et a été reprise par Berliner dans son édition, ainsi que dans les éditions courantes. La leçon de Neharde^a introduit dans la formule négative du verset hébreu un sens interrogatif qui ne semble pas avoir été suivi par ailleurs et qu'aurait pu laisser supposer l'inversion du négatif hébreu dans le verset. Les notes marginales du Targum Neofiti inclinaient cependant à donner à ce négatif un tour implorant [25].
- Nb. 10,31 L'auteur du commentaire relève sous forme de liste quantifiée les deux occurrences de ce mot précédé du waw conjonctif

existant dans le Targum du Pentateuque, où il apparaît dans une expression homilétique sans correspondance directe avec le texte hébreu dont rend compte la paraphrase. La seule autre occurrence de cette expression, toujours à portée homilétique, n'a pas été relevée par notre scribe parce que, d'une part, elle n'est pas précédée du waw et que, d'autre part, elle apparaît seulement dans Dt. 33,17, enseignement qui est cependant immédiatement repris par le scribe dans la note qui suit et qu'il exprime par le procédé de la comparaison analogique, où il oppose les leçons des Nombres à celle du Deutéronome.

Nb. 10,32

A partir de ce verset, l'auteur du commentaire relève trois cas de divergences entre les usages de la paraphrase à Neharde 'a' et à Sura'. Au אֶפְסָרָא de Neharde 'a' il oppose le אֶפְסָרָא de Sura', qui est la leçon qui a prévalu d'une façon assez générale dans le Targum. Les deux formes de ce mot sont connues en araméen et sont en fait équivalentes; la seconde est plutôt employée dans le Targum du Pentateuque pour rendre le sens des mots hébreux חֶלֶב, מִגֵּד, אֶשֶׁר, שְׁמָנִים - ce qui est le meilleur des produits du sol et des biens de ce monde — ou encore טַחַח - la grâce -. Cette divergence avait déjà été relevée par Berliner. [26]

Nb. 11,7

Nous avons restitué dans notre édition du fragment le lemme hébreu correspondant aux deux expressions araméennes divergentes, pour conserver l'unité dans la forme de l'exposé adopté par le scribe auteur du commentaire. La vocalisation aberrante des deux leçons araméennes rend peu clair l'enseignement du massorète-paraphraste. Dès l'abord on doit signaler le pataḥ impossible précédant l'aleph noté par le scribe, qui ne peut être qu'un qameṣ. La position du point dans la leçon de Neharde 'a' tendrait à faire lire ce mot avec la même vocalisation [o] ḥolem qu'en hébreu, ce qui serait bien improbable; il faudrait alors voir la différence entre les deux académies dans la vocalisation [u] shureq marquée par un point au milieu du waw, tel que Sura' le propose et que le Targum autant que l'araméen courant et le syriaque le maintiennent. Le trait vertical en forme de meteg sous le lamed de la leçon de Sura' serait dû à une écriture un peu rapide des deux points superposés du shewa', dont l'encre, en fusant, aurait provoqué cette difficulté supplémentaire. Cette divergence, si elle existe vraiment, est inconnue de Berliner et ne semble avoir été relevée dans aucun manuscrit du Targum.

Nb. 11,8

Pour l'hébreu יָצָא - courir en tous sens, se disperser -, les maîtres de Sura' proposent l'équivalent araméen très hébraïsé dérivé de la même ✓ sémitique, alors que les maîtres de Neharde 'a' préfèrent la ✓ araméenne פָּנָא très usitée dans

cette langue, leçon dont on trouve cependant la trace dans un certain nombre de manuscrits, dans quelques incunables de la Bible et dans l'édition de Sabbionetta de 1557, dont Berliner a conservé la leçon [27].

- Nb. 11,10 L'auteur du commentaire a relevé l'expression hapax du texte hébreu que la Mp marginale du ms. B 19 a, signalera comme telle. En donnant la forme choisie pour la paraphrase de cette expression, il indique in abstracto qu'elle est unique dans ce cas et que pour la rendre, les auteurs de la paraphrase ont utilisé la même forme qu'ils ont utilisée pour rendre l'hébreu **בשער** et **פתח** non précédé du lamed de direction. Par là, il garantit la transmission du choix exégétique sub loco, qui s'oppose au **לחורע** courant dans le livre de l'Exode pour rendre l'un des deux mots hébreux précédés du lamed.
- Nb. 11,7 Pour les deux enseignements qui vont suivre, l'auteur du commentaire est revenu légèrement en arrière dans l'exposé systématique de son commentaire, qu'il reprend au verset 7. La difficile et dense métaphore hébraïque **ועינו כעין** — son aspect — qu'il faudrait entendre littéralement: son oeil, est rendue par l'araméen **חזון**, **חזא** ✓, équivalent araméen habituel de l'hébreu **מראה** — aspect, apparence, vue — qui connote exactement le sens de l'expression hébraïque. Celle-ci, au demeurant, est un hapax signalé comme tel dans la Mp marginale du ms. B 19 a de Léningrad. Pour la clarté de l'exposé, nous avons restitué dans le commentaire l'abréviation qui introduit d'ordinaire l'expression paraphrasée et qui manquait dans ce cas, oubliée simplement par le scribe.
- Nb. 11,8 Le massorète rapporte ici la liste quantifiée des trois seules occurrences où l'hébreu **עשו**, avec ou sans le conjonctif waw, est rendu par l'araméen **עבדין**, à la différence des très nombreux cas où l'hébreu est rendu par les formes araméennes **עבדי**, **עבדך**, **עבדך**, [28], **עבדך**, [29]. Berliner [30] a relevé une liste semblable en tous points à celle qui est proposée ici dans notre fragment; la seule différence existant entre les deux listes réside dans l'usage du waw conjonctif dans le titre de la liste éditée par Berliner.
- Nb. 11,12 L'araméen du Targum, qui a créé l'usage de la particule **י** pour rendre scrupuleusement la particule **אח** de l'hébreu, ne la restitue pas dans ce verset. Le lamed préfixé était indispensable pour la construction de la tournure araméenne nominale: ... "[suis-] je le père de tout ce peuple" qui rend l'hébreu: "est-ce moi qui ai conçu tout ce peuple?" Cette tournure a été relevée par le scribe non à cause du seul lamed préfixé mais surtout

parce que cette tournure résulte du fait que c'est le seul cas où la $\sqrt{\text{hébraïque}}$ הרה est rendue par le substantif אמ, alors que son équivalent araméen usuel est le verbe עדא ou עד - concevoir -.

Nb. 11,12

Ici encore la concision du commentaire laisserait entendre que le pronom personnel hébreu "je" est rendu par l'araméen "mes fils". En fait, c'est toute la tournure de la paraphrase qui est sous-jacente dans la note mnémonique qui propose, par les éléments cités, le remplacement d'un syntagme verbal hébreu par un syntagme nominal en araméen. L'hébreu: "est-ce moi qui l'ai enfanté" désignant le Peuple d'Israël est rendu par le: "sont-ils mes fils" du Targum. Cet exemple unique dans le cas de cette expression se retrouve cependant dans d'autres versets pour d'autres expressions et pose tout le problème de la traduction, qui existe déjà au niveau relativement simple de la paraphrase littérale.

Nb. 11,22

L'auteur du commentaire a relevé ici les deux expressions hébraïques existant dans le même verset, ונחא au sens de "suffire", qui sont rendues par une même expression araméenne connotant exactement le même sens. C'est le même verbe araméen qui rend encore l'hébreu לשחוח כלו... de Gn. 24,22; כלו... לאכול de Gn. 43,2 ou l'exprime dans Dt. 2,7 pour expliciter l'hébreu: "[Dieu] a connu ta marche dans le désert,..." trop elliptique pour le targumiste, etc.

Par contre l'expression ונחא de Lv. 25,26; Nb. 35,27; Dt. 19,5 et Eccl. 9,15 est rendue communément par la $\sqrt{\text{araméenne}}$ שח, qui connote exactement le sens littéral de "trouver" qui est aussi celui de l'hébreu. Nous avons restitué dans notre édition du fragment l'abréviation araméenne que nous avons déjà rencontrée dans la grande liste donnée sous Nb. 10,29 à propos de la seconde occurrence dans le même verset du Targum de Nb. 23,7.

Nb. 12,2

Le scribe rapporte la liste des deux occurrences du nom de Moïse où le bet instrumental préfixé hébreu est rendu par l'excellente et très claire préposition araméenne במ qui connote parfaitement le sens que la tradition accorde au bet hébreu dans cette locution. Dans les cas de Ex. 4,14; 14,31 et Nb. 12,1, l'araméen conserve le bet préfixé au sens locatif dans le second cas et adversatif dans les deux autres.

Nb. 12,7

L'auteur du commentaire propose la leçon usuelle du Targum Babylonien du Pentateuque, à laquelle s'oppose la leçon ביהי que l'on trouve cependant dans le manuscrit Or. 1467 de la British Library, qui est originaire de Perse et rédigé circa 1150, avec

substantif, qui est le statut incontestable du mot hébreu. La leçon du massorète tend à nouveau à enseigner à son lecteur que les auteurs du Targum ont préféré la littéralité de la paraphrase du texte hébreu à une forme atténuée révérencielle, pour exprimer la colère divine: **וַאִילוּ אֲבוּהָא מִיּוֹדָף נִזְדָּף בָּהּ** — si son père l'avait sévèrement réprimandée —, qui implique l'usage de la particule flexionnée.

- Nb. 12,16 Le scribe, malgré la vocalisation hireq aberrante de l'équivalent araméen sur laquelle il n'est point besoin de s'appesantir, signale simplement au lecteur que l'araméen a conservé, pour ce nom de lieu, l'image exacte de l'expression hébraïque. Il a cependant négligé de signaler la seconde occurrence de ce nom de lieu, qui apparaît sous la même forme préfixée, une fois encore dans le Pentateuque, dans le même livre, Nb. 33,18. La fin de la ligne sérieusement endommagée ne semble pas devoir être lue différemment de la lecture que nous proposons.
- Nb. 13,1 Le sigle **ללך** — 136 — indique le nombre traditionnel des versets dans la péricope qui vient de se terminer. Le pé marginal annonce le début de la nouvelle péricope (Nb. 13,1-15,41) dont le titre traditionnel est donné aussitôt après.
- Nb. 13,30 Au **וַיִּהְיֶה** — il calma — de l'hébreu, le Targum substitue l'accompli 'aph'el précédé du waw conjonctif araméen **וַאֲצִיחַ** — il rendit attentif —, auquel le Tj et le Neofiti préfèrent **שָׁתַק** — calmer, faire silence —. Cette expression, homographique selon la liste dressée par le massorète, est utilisée quatre fois dans le Targum, sous Dt. 1,45, pour rendre l'hébreu **הִשְׁמַעְתִּי** — entendre — qui est aussi à l'accompli de l''aph'el; sous Dt. 27,9, pour rendre l'hébreu **הִשְׁמַעְתָּ** — tais-toi [et écoute] —, forme à laquelle nous avons été obligé d'ajouter son exact parallèle de Nb. 23,18, qui, comme la précédente, est un impératif 'aph'el de la même ✓ araméenne **וַאֲצִיחַ** et qui, dans ce cas, rend à nouveau la ✓ hébraïque de Dt. 1,45. Rien ne nous semble pouvoir justifier l'oubli du scribe dans cette liste, les quatre occurrences homographes étant connues sans aucune variante dans les manuscrits de bonne tradition et dans toutes les éditions.
- Nb. 13,29 Le scribe revient à nouveau légèrement sur ses pas pour donner une liste fort importante sur le plan exégétique des deux occurrences du nom d'Amaleq à l'état absolu, connotant un sens ethnique et rendu en araméen par **עַמְלִיקָא**. Le scribe n'a pas relevé les deux occurrences de l'ethnique Amalécite rendu par la même forme araméenne sous Nb. 14,23 et 25.

- Nb. 14, 2 Les deux occurrences de l'expression hébraïque dans ce verset sont les seules qui existent dans le Pentateuque. On retrouve une fois encore une 1ère personne pluriel de l'accompli du gal de la $\sqrt{\text{מח}}$ dans 2 R. 7, 3, qui n'intéresse pas les commentateurs du Targum du Pentateuque, mais qui, de toute façon, n'est pas rendue par la même expression araméenne. La vocalisation donnée par notre scribe à la forme araméenne est celle des meilleurs manuscrits babyloniens, qui n'a pas été reprise par Berliner[34] ni par les éditions courantes du Targum. La note הרי au sens de – double –, comparer avec le grec $\delta\upsilon\omicron$, signale les deux occurrences de cette expression dans le verset.
- Nb. 14, 5 L'auteur du commentaire donne ici la première leçon du texte de son Targum qui diverge considérablement par rapport aux leçons des meilleurs manuscrits du Targum Babylonien du Pentateuque. Il propose de rendre le קהל – assemblée, peuple – hébreu par le même mot en araméen, sous la même forme construite non déterminée. On trouve par exemple cette leçon dans le ms. Or. 1467 de la British Library, repris par l'édition de Sabbionetta et par Berliner, comme l'on retrouve cette leçon dans les éditions courantes, alors que les meilleurs manuscrits de tradition babylonienne proposent de lire le mot קהלא à l'état emphatique. Ces divergences opposent la leçon כל קהל כנשתא que les traducteurs rendent usuellement comme l'hébreu par – toute l'assemblée réunie – ou – l'ensemble de la communauté –, exégèse qui donne, tant au קהל construit de l'hébreu qu'à celui de l'araméen, la valeur d'un adjectif de quantité totale. La leçon babylonienne pour ce verset met à l'emphatique tant le mot קהלא que le mot כנשתא, comme dans la leçon parallèle unanimement admise d'Ex. 12,6, qui est cependant traduite en français par la même formule que celle utilisée pour Nb. 14, 5. La leçon babylonienne, elle, met en opposition les deux termes donnant à ces mots les sens pleins de – toute la communauté [et] toute l'assemblée des enfants d'Israël – sens qui n'appelle par ailleurs aucune autre traduction. Seul Rachi, dans son commentaire à Ex. 12,6 introduit cette notion en lisant les deux mots hébreux après avoir introduit entre eux la conjonction de coordination: כל קהל ועדה ישראל – toute la communauté et l'assemblée d'Israël –, qui n'existe pas par ailleurs dans le *textus receptus*.
- Nb. 14, 9 L'auteur de notre commentaire termine celui-ci en fin du verso du feuillet, en notant que dans l'hébreu le Tétragramme précédé du waw, qui exprime ici le sens consécutif, est rendu en araméen par la formule מימרא – la Parole [de Dieu] – qui résout l'anthropomorphisme, elle aussi, dans ce cas, précédée en araméen d'un waw remplissant la même fonction.

IV

Listes des Abréviations Massorétiques

Chiffres

י	2 occurrences	Nb. 7,88; 10,10; 10,31; 12,2; 13,29
א	3 occurrences	Nb. 10,9; 11,8; 13,30
י	4 occurrences	Nb. 9,23
י	12 occurrences	Nb. 10,29
קל	136 versets	Nb. 13,1
קע	176 versets	Nb. 8,1
ארבעה ארבעה	4 fois à chaque verset	Nb. 9,23

Occurrences

שני ב	hébreu ? בוכו	- deux fois dans le verset - Nb. 10,29 (23,7)
הדו	- deux fois - ?	} Nb. 14,2
	ainsi ?	
ושל	héb. - et le suivant immédiat - héb. ? ,	Nb. 10,29 (22,17)

Paraphrase

תרג	Nb. 7,87; 12,16; 14,2; 14,9	} תרגימו - ils paraphrasent -
מתרג	Nb. 7,89; 10,31; 11,10; 11,12; 12,7; 12,14	
דמתרג	Nb. 11,8	
מח	Nb. 11,12	
דמ	Nb. 7,88; 10,9; 13,29	
דמח	Nb. 10,10; 10,29; 12,2	} [ד]מחרגם - paraphrasé - [ד]מחרגמין - paraphrasés -
קרא והרג	Nb. 14,5 - lu et paraphrasé ainsi -	[ד]מחרגמינן - nous paraphrasons -

Titres d'ouvrages

אור	Nb. 10,9	} - Torah - Pentateuque, passim
בא		
באו		
וידבר	Nombres, Nb. 10,2; 10,31	
אלה הדברים	Deutéronome, Nb. 10,2; 10,31	
יהושע	Josué, Nb. 10,9	

Situation dans le Livre

בסיפא, בסיפרא	- dans le livre - Nb. 10, 29
קד	} première occurrence Nb. 8, 20; 9, 23; 12, 10
קדמ	
בתח	seconde occurrence Nb. 8, 20; 9, 23; 12, 10
ושל אחריו, ושל	- et le suivant immédiat - Nb. 10, 29

Symboles

סימן	symbole mnémonique
ל ק	Nb. 8, 16
ז ל ז	Nb. 8, 20
ש י ע	Nb. 8, 22

Lettres de l'alphabet et signes diacritiques

בֿ	<u>mappiq</u> inscrit sous le <u>hé</u> Nb. 12, 14
שׁ	<u>dagesh</u> Nb. 10, 5
הי	lettre <u>hé</u> Nb. 9, 10
תיו	lettre <u>taw</u> Nb. 10, 5

Terminologie purement massorétique

הדין	celui-ci	Nb. 7,88
הדו	? celui-ci ?	Nb. 14,2
הלין	tous ces cas	Nb. 7,89
כולו → כול	- entièrement, continûment, toujours -	Nb. 10,5
נקוד	ponctué, ici exponctué	Nb. 9,10
פרשה → פ	- péricope -	Nb. 8,1; 13,1
פסוקין	versets	Nb. 9,23
דמיט בהון → דמיטבשין בהון	- au sujet desquels on commet des erreurs -	Nb. 10,10

Ecoles Massorétiques

לן → לט	לנהרדעאי	[Pour les Maîtres] de Neharde 'a'	Nb. 10,31; 10,32;
לט } → לסור	לסוראי	[Pour les Maîtres] de Sura'	11,7; 11,8;
			12,12; 12,13

V

Conclusions

L'analyse statistique des enseignements que nous avons retrouvés dans ce fragment met en évidence les particularités suivantes:

1° A 9 listes de la Massorah du Targum du Pentateuque[35] s'oppose 1 unique liste de la Mm de la Torah[36];

2° A 5 enseignements analogiques portant sur le texte du Targum du Pentateuque[37] s'opposent 3 enseignements analogiques portant sur le TM de la Torah[38];

3° 17 enseignements uniques portent sur la paraphrase d'un élément de verset, mot ou expression complète;

4° 7 enseignements nous renseignent sur les divergences de réalisation dans le rendu araméen entre les deux Académies de Sura' et de Neharde 'a' , la tradition en matière de paraphrase semble toujours donner la préférence aux maîtres de Sura'[39];

5° Sous Nb. 9,10, un enseignement rabbanite de haute antiquité est cité en matière d'exponctuation critique dans les termes mêmes qui le rapportent dans les ouvrages de la littérature rabbinique la plus ancienne;

6° Sous Nb. 9,13, le massorète auteur du commentaire a colligé une liste très importante pour la conservation et l'authentification du TM, mais dont l'extrême rareté la rend très précieuse, puisque seul Salomon Yedidiah Norzi en a fait mention après avoir compulsé un nombre considérable de manuscrits anciens [40].

L'impression générale qui se dégage de cette étude est, d'une part, l'antiquité certaine du fragment, l'origine rabbanite indiscutable des leçons qui y sont données. La visée de l'auteur est sans conteste la conservation du texte de la Paraphrase Araméenne du Pentateuque, dont l'origine babylonienne primitive est assurée par les divergences rapportées entre les maîtres des deux grandes académies babyloniennes, mais dont la forme qui est protégée ici par le commentaire est celle qui a subi le crible des écoles philologiques de Tibériade. Le mélange encore remarquable des leçons de la Mm portant sur le TM hébreu et celles portant sur le Targum Araméen du Pentateuque sans rattachement à aucun texte systématiquement copié, témoignent en faveur d'une rédaction à une époque où les deux traditions massorétiques ne s'étaient pas encore diversifiées par le recolement systématique des listes de la Mm du TM, entre les colonnes et dans les marges supérieures et inférieures des grands codex bibliques. Nous avons daté les prémices de la rédaction de ces codex du début du IX^e siècle; par là même la rédaction de ce fragment nous paraît antérieure à cette époque.

Notes

1. G. E. WEIL, 'Quatre fragments de la Massorah Magna babylonienne (I)': *Textus* 3(1963), 103; - d° -, 'La Massorah Magna du Targum du Pentateuque. Nouveaux fragments et autres. Esquisse historique': *Textus* 4(1964), 30-54; - d° -, 'Fragment d'une Massorah alphabétique du Targum babylonien du Pentateuque (Concordance des paraphrases hapax)': *The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society* 5(1966), 114-131; - d° -, 'Nouveau fragment de la Massorah Magna du Targum de Babylone': *In memoriam Paul Kahle* | BZATW 103 | Berlin 1968; - d° -, 'Nouveaux fragments inédits de la Massorah Magna babylonienne (II)': *Textus* 6 (1968), 79.
2. G. E. WEIL, 'La Massorah': *REJ* 131(1972), II. - La Massorah du Targum babylonien -, 41-62.
3. S. A. BIRNBAUM, *The hebrew scripts II*, Londres, 1954-57, n° 182-186 et 287-288, comme possibles caractères d'origine grecque.
4. Cf. Nb. 8,1 et Nb. 13,1.
5. C. D. GINSBURG, *Introduction to the massoretico-critical edition of the hebrew Bible*, Londres, 1896, 80-81.
6. Cf. Nb. 8,20; 10,2, etc.
7. Cf. Nb. 7,88; 9,23; 10,29, etc.
8. On retrouvera cependant le texte original dans les fac-similés, des deux faces, donnés en annexe.

9. Nb. 15,5.
10. Lv. 7,37; Nb. 7,17,23, 29, 35, 41, 47, 53, 59, 65, 71, 77, 83.
11. Lv. 9,4; Nb. 6,14.
12. Nb. 29,39.
13. On notera que si le scribe a bien porté les voyelles de la forme avec exactitude, il a négligé de marquer les dagesh de la forme dans la seconde radicale et de l'élision du taw dans la première radicale.
14. R. BUTIN, The ten nequdeth of the Torah, Prolegomenon by Sh. Talmon, New York, 1969 (réédition anastatique).
15. La Biblia Hebraica II de Bomberg note ces deux références dans la Mp marginale du lamed de l'hapax, alors que le scribe du ms. B 19 a de Léningrad n'a signalé comme hapax que la référence de Dt. 10,11.
16. S. FRENSDORFF, Die Massorah Magna, Prolegomenon by G. E. Weil, New York, 1968 (réédition anastatique).
17. A. BERLINER, Die Massorah zum Targum Onkelos, Leipzig, 1877, p. 52.
18. A. BERLINER, Targum Onkelos, nach editio Sabbionetta (1557), Berlin, 1884.
19. Gn. 47, 19; Lv. 25,53; Dt. 28,3,31 par exemple.
20. La Bible, Ancien Testament, I, sous la direction d'E. Dhorme, Paris, 1956.
21. L. SEGOND, La Sainte Bible, Genève, 1971.
22. La Bible I, sous la direction de Z. Kahn, Paris, 1964.
23. A. DÍEZ MACHO, Ms. Neophyti, IV, Numeros, sub loco, Madrid, 1974.
24. Die Massorah zum Targum, o.c.
25. Neophyti, o.c., sub loco.
26. Die Massorah zum Targum, o.c., p. 65.
27. Targum Onkelos, o.c., sub loco.
28. Ex. 1,17; Nb. 36,10.
29. Gn. 19,8.
30. Die Massorah zum Targum, o.c.
31. Targum Onkelos, o.c., sub loco.
32. Die Massorah zum Targum, o.c., p. 65.
33. Elie LÉVITA, Massoret ha-Massoret, Venise 1538, I ère Table, 5, remarque finale et II^e Table, § 3.
34. Targum Onkelos, o.c., sub loco.
35. Nb. 7,88; 10,9, 10, 29, 31; 11,8; 12,2; 13,29, 30.
36. Nb. 9,23.
37. Nb. 7,89; 8,16; 10,31, 31; 12,10.
38. Nb. 8,20; 10,2; 10,9.
39. Nb. 10,32; 11,7; 11,8; 12,12, 13.
40. Goder Pereş, ou encore Minhāt Shay, sub loco, Mantoue, 1742.

GY. WOJTILLA

SIR AUREL STEIN'S KASHMIRIAN MĀHĀTMYA COLLECTION IN THE LIBRARY OF THE HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences possesses a volume of Kashmirian Sanskrit works that have come down to us from Sir Aurel STEIN's legacy. [1]

The bibliographical data are as follows: Sanskrit Mss from the last years of the 19th cent. On p. 1 there is the supposed title: Tirthas-Mahatmya collection Ms collected by Pandit Govind Kaul.

Size: 222 folios, 370 x 340 mm.

Material: Fine paper made in India.

Script: Fairly written in Devanāgarī characters by more than two persons. One column per page. Writing material is black Indian ink.

Binding: Contemporary claret-coloured leather binding.

Possessor: Sir Aurel Stein. After 1957 the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Through STEIN's incidental remarks the provenance of the volume can be reconstructed. It seems that RANBIR SINGH, the Mahārāja of Kashmir, gave order to collect the legends connected with the holy places in Kashmir and a staff of learned brāhmaṇas headed by Paṇḍit SĀHIBRĀM started working on the project in the fifties and sixties of the last century.[2]

Unfortunately this monumental work remained unfinished and only fragments have been made public. From the collected material available in Śrīnagar STEIN requested Pandit GOVIND KAUL to make a copy. These extracts grouped according to districts of Kashmir can be found in our volume.[3]

In its entirety, the volume contains 204 Māhātmyas, special religious poems in Sanskrit. Although their importance was recognised by G. BÜHLER in the seventies,[4] STEIN was the first to conduct any serious research into this genre: of literature while using them for his studies of the ancient geography of Kashmir. He also shed light on the chronology of Kashmirian Māhātmyas and dated them back to the period between 11th-16th centuries.[5] Since STEIN did not publish any texts from the collection, we have little knowledge of Kashmirian Mahatmyas and the popular religion of Kashmir as reflected in these special works.[6] But this statement is also valid for the Māhātmyas generally since even the authors of the most detailed histories of Indian literature do not show interest in this genre.[7]

For this reason we shall give a short characterization of the Kashmirian Māhātmyas even though the comprehensive study of the genre with regard to the history of literature, religion and folklore is beyond the scope of the present paper.

Their most striking features are as follows:

1. They are religious works recited by purohitas before pilgrims arrived at the given place of pilgrimage. [8]
2. Their subject embraces the intimate (transcendental) relation between a god and the place in question.
3. They are written in Sanskrit with occasionally vernacular interpolations.
4. They are written in verse to make it easier to memorize them.
5. They slavishly imitate the epic-puranic style and claim to be of a puranic origin. [9]
6. Their mythological material has a two-fold source: the epic-puranic mythology and local folklore tradition.
7. They are built up of certain stereotype elements: a geographical description of the place; [10] an account of the meritorious deeds of holy persons in order to gain the god's favour; the appearance of the god and the divine revelation; practical instructions on how to bestow the god's favour etc Almost all the features occur in each piece.

Let us take the Māheśvaranāgamāhātmya (fols 5-8), a text related to lake Māheśvara near the village of Kaimuh in the Anātñāg district.

Kaimuh (Sanskrit Katimuṣa) can be traced back to early mediaeval sources. E.g. a passage of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī reads:

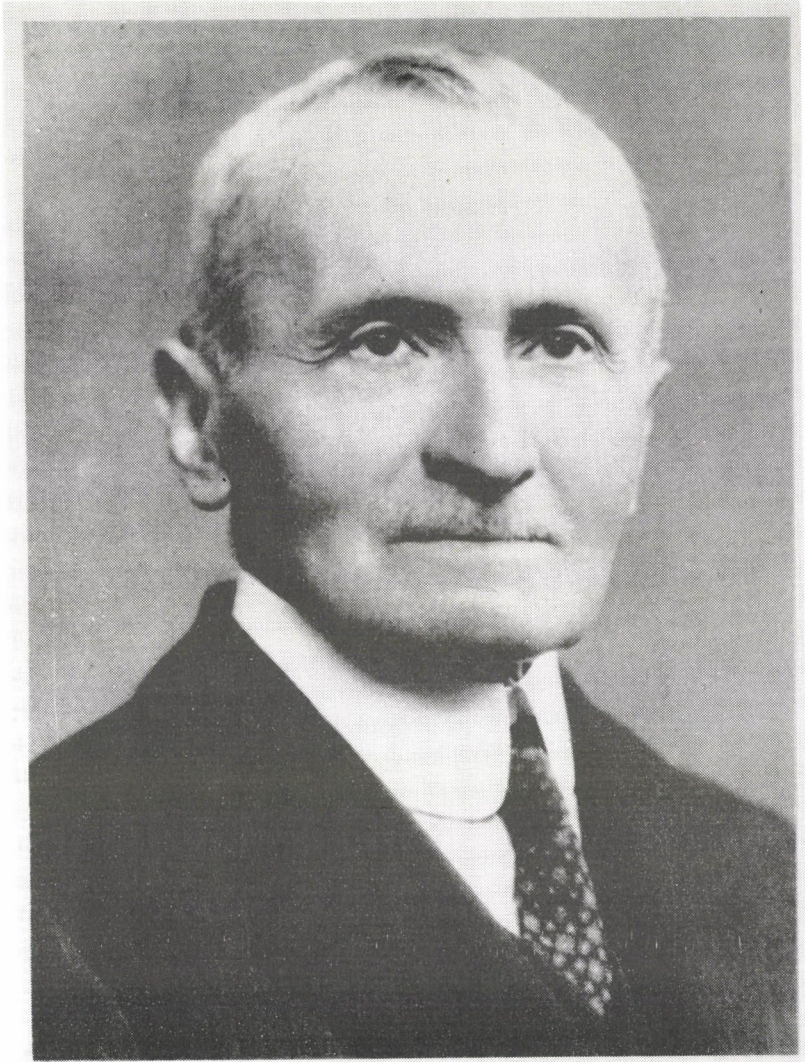
"The pious and sinless (queen) established for brāhmaṇas the agrahāra of Katimuṣa, eminent because of its wealth and prosperity, and that of Rāmuṣa." [11]

According to STEIN "it is a considerable village in the Ādavin Pargana on the left bank of the Viśokā River, 75 9' long. 33 43' lat." [12]

The frame story of the Māheśvaranāgamāhātmya follows the holy deeds of Śivarāma, [13] a famous sage, and Śiva. The kernel of the Māhātmya is the story of Śiva and an apsaras, and relates how the latter gains favour in order to be free from the disease caused by Indra's curse.

This story obviously takes its subject from the old motif of the cursed apsaras well known in Sanskrit literature, e.g. in the Vikramorvaśīyam of Kālidāsa [14] and the Kathāsaritsāgara. [15] This original motif was intervoven with certain elements of presumably local tradition and finally given the shape of a religious poem in accordance with the ideological demands of Kashmirian śivaism. [16]

ॐ अथानेकाह विषयस्थितकैमा
 ह इतिनाम्नः प्रसिद्धेग्रामेमाहेश्व
 रकुण्डं यत्कुण्डं जनामान्कुण्डनाग
 इतिवदन्ति तथाच अनेकोदाख्य
 विषयमथैकोदाइतिश्रुतः ग्रामो
 स्तितत्रपरमं कुण्डमाहेश्वराभियम्
 पूर्वतोनिः सप्तोयंचचतुकोणं मनो
 हरम् तदुत्पत्तिचत्प्र श्रीभैरवीउवाच
 कथमाहेश्वरकुण्डं ग्रामेवसरसुन्दर
 महेश्वरेणविहितेकिमर्थंचसरधम
 इतिपुष्टः शिवोदेवीप्रत्यवाचक्यानि
 धिः श्रीभैरवउवाच पृष्टदेविप्रवदा
 मि कुण्डं माहेश्वराभियम् पुराकश्चि
 दत्रग्रामेप्रावरामाभियोत्तुनिः त
 पश्चचारपरमं शिवदर्शनवाङ्मया
 द्वादशगङ्गातयस्तस्मात्प्राशिवः प्रीतोवभू
 वह विप्रस्यतस्मक्ययादर्शनापेक्ष
 माययो अत्रोयविष्टो ग्रामेतुपावत्पा
 सहितोविभुः तदेवत्तररः प्रीमाना
 जगामाप्सरेनितः न्तुगीतादिकं
 सर्वंचकारप्रेमहेशतुः तन्नुतदर्शना
 च्छम्भुर्हर्षहीनोवभूवसः ततः प्रसन्न



Sir Aurel Stein (1862-1943)

Text

om̐ atha anantanāgaviṣayaṣṭhitakaimuhitināmnaḥ
 prasiddhegrāmemāheśvarakuṇḍaṃ yatkuṇḍaṃjanā māñcha-
 nāgaitivadanti tathāca anantanāgākhyaviṣayemadhye
 kaimuhitiśrutāḥ grāmo 'stitatraparamaṃkuṇḍamāheśvarā-
 bhidhaṃ pūrvatonīḥsarattoyaṃcacatuṣkoṇaṃmano-
 haram̐ tadutpatticettham. śrībhairaviuvāca
 kathamāheśvarakuṇḍamgrāme 'trasurasundara| [18]
 maheśvareṇavihitam̐kimarthaṃcasuraṣṣabha||
 itiprṣṭāḥ śīvodevīm̐ pratyuvācakṛpānidhi|
 śrībhairavauvāca
 śrṇudevipravaks|y|āmikuṇḍammāheśvarābhidham| [19]
 purākaścidatragrāme śīvarāmābhidhomuniḥ|
 tapaścakāraparamaṃśīvaradarśanavāñcchayā| [20]
 dvādaśābdam̐tapastaptvāśīvaḥ prītoababhūvasa|h| | [21]
 viprasayatasyakṛpayādarśanārthaṃsamāyayau||
 atropaviṣṭogṛāmeṇpārvatīyāsahitavibhuḥ|
 tadaivanāradaḥ śrīmānājagāmāpsaronvitaḥ||
 nṛtugītādikaṃsarvaṃcakārāgremaheśasya| [22]
 tannṛtudarśanācchambhurharṣahīnobabhūvasaḥ||
 tataḥprasannamanasaṃdr̥ṣṭvādevaṃjagatpatim|
 prāñjalīśāpsarāḥśambhu|m̐|uvacapraṇatāsthitā [23] [24]
 indraśāpasamutthenarogenaḥkāntatvigrāhā| [25]
 ahamasmi jagannāthavahupīḍā|nvit|āsadā|| [26]
 prasādam̐kurumeyenarogaśāntiścajāyate|
 tataḥprovācatāṃdevomaheśokaruṇānidhiḥ||
 snānam̐kuruṣvabhadretvaṃkuṇḍe 'sminśītalodake|
 rogaśānti|h|bhavedyasyamatprasādānmanohare| [27]
 tataḥprītastannṛt|y|aneśūlenoktam̐cakhānasa|h| | [28] [29] [30]
 tatrakuṇḍamābhūdraṃcācatuṣkoṇaṃsamam̐tataḥ|
 svapādaniryatsalilapravāhāparipūritam||
 tato 'psarājalam̐śītampītvāsasnaucatajjale|
 tasyaindrasyaśāpārthorogonaśto 'bhavatkṣanāt|[31]
 divyadehāpunarjātāsamaheśaprasādataḥ||
 tacchrutvāśīvarāmādyāḥsamājagmu|r|munīśvarāḥ| [32]
 dr̥ṣṭvātatraśīvaṃsākṣātpārvatīyāsahitam̐vibhum|
 śīvarāmamunistatratuṣṭāvaparamēśvaram||
 tatastuṣṭodevadevo śīvarāmaṃsamavravīt|
 bhobhomunīśvarādyaham̐tuṣṭastetapasā|t|manā| [33]
 varam̐vṛṇīsvadāsyāmidevānāmapidurlabhyam|| [34]
 itikṛtvāmuniḥprāhapraṇamyadaṇḍavadbhuvī|

tvaddarśanātkimparam[am] varamnamakṛpānidhe| [35]
 tathāpibhavatobhaktiḥsadāme 'stumahēśvara||
 tvaddarśā[t]pūjāyāṃsaktobhaviṣyāmiyathā sadā| [36]
 tathākuruniśānāthakalāmaṇḍitaśekhara||
 ityuktvasamuniśreṣṭhobabhūvapraṇataḥsthitah|
 tatodadauvaramtasmaiyatheṣṭaṃmunayeśivah||
 provācabhūyogirīśastamṃmunim karuṇānidhih|
 mayāmaheśvareṇaitatkr̥tamkuṇḍammuneyatah|
 indraśāpottharogasyaśāntyaicāmarayoṣitah|| [37]
 tannṛtugītādr̥ṣṭyā caprītito munipuṃgava|
 atomāheśvaraitināmnābhavatuviśrutam||
 āgāminikalaumartyoyahkaścidvahurogavān|
 kuṇḍe 'sminsajalesnānamkuryādyadisubhaktimān|
 tadaivamatprasādāt sanaṣṭarogobhaviṣyati||
 tvaṃca[piparama]bhaktyāyuktampūjayamāmmune| [38]
 atraivakuṇḍasamyukte āśramevahusiddhide||
 ityuktvāntardhimagamaḍdevadevomaheśvaraḥ|
 nārado 'pimunisvarge jagāmāpsarasāsaha||
 tadāprabhṛtideveśikhyātamaṃmāheśvarābhidham|
 kuṇḍaṃsamabhavatlokepavitramroganāśanam||
 tatsnānāddarśanāddevi naṣṭarogobhavennaraḥ||
 itthammayātekathitamāhātmyaṃsurasundari|
 māheśvarābhidhāna syakuṇḍasyaparamāhutam||
 utpatticāpideveśitavasnehātprakāśitā|| [39]
 itīśrīmāheśvaranāgamāhātmyam|| [40]

Translation

Om. Now comes Kaimuh in the Anatnāg district. There lies
 Māheśvara lake in the famous village mentioned before.
 People also call it lake Māñchanāg. The famous
 village Kaimuh is placed in the middle of the Anatnāg
 district. It is situated by the most excellent,
 quadrangular, heart-stealing lake taking its name
 from Maheśvara whose water runs from the east.
 Its origin is as follows:

The sacred Bhairavī said: "O beautiful deity! For [41]
 what reason can the Māheśvara lake be found in this
 village? O god-bull! On what account was it created
 by Maheśvara?" Being so asked, Śiva, the favour-
 treasurer, made a reply to Devī. The sacred Bhairava [42]

said: "O goddess! Listen to me. I shall speak of the lake taking its name from Maheśvara. Once upon a time a certain sage, Śivarāma by name because he longed for Śiva's sight, did penance in this village. Having done penance for twelve years, Śiva was pleased and mercifully appeared there so that the brāhmaṇa could see him. As soon as the Lord accompanied by [43] Pārvatī arrived in the village the sacred Nārada [44] [45] also arrived with an apsaras. The apsaras performed a dance and song and so on in the presence of Maheśvara. Having seen Śambhu that dance was without joy. Then the apsaras having seen the gracious minded god, the lord of the world, joining and holding out her hollowed open hands prostrated herself and said: "O lord of the world! On account of the disease caused by Indra's [47] curse I am deprived of my beloved and so I am always accompanied by pain. Show favour towards me so that the disease may cease." Maheśa, the [48] favour-treasurer god, said: "My dear! Take a bath in this cold-water lake. O heart-stealer! Your disease will cease because of my favour. Then he, having been pleased by her dance, dug up the lake before mentioned with his trident. There was a beautiful, quadrangular, [49] even lake created filled up from the water-courses coming from its base. Then the apsaras, having drunk from the cool water, took a bath in its water. Her disease which was caused by Indra's curse ceased after a little while. She was born again in a divine body through Maheśa's favour. Having heard this Śivarāma and the other divine sages gathered together and saw Śiva, the lord accompanied by Pārvatī, in visible form. Then Śivarāma glorified the highest god. The god of gods was pleased and said to Śivarāma: "Ho, ho eldest of sages! I am pleased with the penance done by you. Ask for a favour! I shall give you a favour rarely granted even to gods." Having done this the sage prostrated himself like a staff on the earth and said: "O favour-treasurer! What is greater than your sight? O Maheśvara! According to this may I have everlasting devotion to you! As by means of your sight I shall be constant in worship forever also must you also, who have a diadem adorned with the digit of the moon." Having spoken so he remained standing. Then Śiva gave the favour he had requested to the sage and the favour-treasurer mountain-lord told the sage again: "O sage! I,

Maheśvara, created that lake in order to assuage the disease of the celestial woman caused by Indra's curse because I am pleased by the sight of her dancing and singing. O man-bull among sages! Henceforth may it be known by the name Māheśvara. If in the coming Kali age a certain mortal suffering [50] from disease devoutly takes a bathe in this lake which is filled with water, his disease ceases through my favour. [51] O sage! Worship fervently in this place of pilgrimage connected with the lake which has bestowed so much success. "Having so spoken, Maheśvara, the god of gods, disappeared and Nārada together with the apsaras also went to the heaven of sages. [52] Henceforth, o queen of gods, the lake called Māheśvara became purifying, disease-destroying. O goddess! If a man bathes here or even looks at the lake his disease ceases. O beautiful goddess! In this manner I have narrated the Māhātmya. O queen of gods, because I have a, liking for you, I have described also the very famous origin of the lake taking its name from Maheśvara. Here ends the Māheśvaranāgamāhātmya. [53]

Notes

1. László RÁSONYI, Stein Aurél és hagyatéka-Sir Aurel Stein and His Legacy, [A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtárának Kiadványai — Publicationes Bibliothecae Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 18.] Budapest 1960.
2. Kalhana's Rājataranginī II, Transl. by M.A. Stein. Westminster 1900, p. 387 ff and L.M. CLAUSON, Catalogue of the Stein Collection of Sanskrit Mss from Kashmir: JRAS 1912, p. 608 ff.
3. See note on page 1 and M.A. STEIN, op. cit. p. 384 note 156. On the close friendship between Stein and Pandit Govind Kaul see M.A. STEIN, In Memoriam Pandit Govind Kaul. Reprinted from the Preface to Hātim's Tales, Kashmiri Stories and Songs, London 1923.
4. G. BÜHLER, Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Mss Made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India, Bombay 1877.
5. M.A. STEIN, op. cit. pp. 382-383. This genre, viz. descriptions of tīrthas (places of pilgrimage) was also known in Jaina literature see Tīrthakalpa of Jinaprabha Sūri. Ed. by D.R. Bhandarkar and Kedarnath Sāhityabhūṣaṇa, Calcutta 1923. (14th century)
6. L.M. CLAUSON, op. cit.; The Haracaritacintāmaṇi of Rājānaka Jayadratha, [Kāvyaṃālā 61.] Bombay 1897, contains some Māhātmyas.
7. M. WINTERNITZ, Geschichte der indischen Litteratur I, Leipzig 1909, p. 481; but J.N. FARQUHAR, An Outline of the Religious Literature of India, Delhi 1967, does not mention the Māhātmyas of Kashmir! Almost all the Purāṇas and a certain kind of ritualistic book of the medieval period contain certain poems called Māhātmya. Here we do not touch upon the relation of these poems with the Kashmirian ones. For Māhātmyas in the Jaina literature

see Śatruñjaya Māhātmya of Dhaneśvara, a work written in glorification of the mountain Śatruñjaya.

8. M.A. STEIN, op.cit.p. 380.
9. M.A. ARWIN, op. cit. Appendix II; see note 7.
10. According to STEIN they represent geographical evidence of little value: M.A. STEIN, op.cit. p. 384.
11. Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī. Ed. by M.A. Stein, Bombay 1892, II. 55.
12. Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī. Transl. by M.A. Stein... p. 60.
13. For persons of this name see Th. AUFRECHT, Catalogus Catalogorum I, Leipzig 1891, p. 652. and Petersburger Wörterbuch, VII, p. 206 etc.
14. The Vikramorvaśīyam of Śrī Kālidāsa, Ed. by Sri R.C.Misra, Varanasi 1963.
15. Kathāsaritsāgara. Ed. by Jagadīślāl Śāstri, Dillī-Patna-Varanasi 1970, II. 34-36; III, 5-6.
16. R.G. BHANDARKAR, Vaiṣṇavism Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, 2nd ed. Varanasi 1965, pp. 129-131; J.N. FARQUHAR, op. cit. pp. 220-283; L.N. SHARMA, Kashmir Śaivism, Varanasi 1972.
17. The text of our Ms is occasionally very corrupt and the copyist does not mark stanzas. The form given here follows the tradition of Māhātmya texts written in verse, but this is the result of a new rendering which have made.
18. Ms mahīśvaram
19. Ms pravakṣāmi
20. Ms cacāra
21. Ms sa
22. Ms maheśataḥ
23. Ms prāñjaliḥ
24. Ms śambhu
25. Ms krānta (?)
26. Ms gives a hopelessly corrupt reading, we have emendated as pida|nvit|a
27. Ms śānti
28. Ms nṛtena
29. Ms sūlenektam
30. Ms sa
31. Ms sa
32. Ms jagmu
33. Ms tapasāmanā
34. Ms durlabham
35. Ms param
36. Ms darśapūjāyāmsamsakto
37. Ms camarayoṣitaḥ
38. Ms tvamcabhaktiā
39. Ms utpattim
40. Ms Mahīśvara
41. Bhairavi is Devī, the wife of Śiva.
42. Bhairava is a name of Śiva.
43. The personal appearance of the god has a very important role in Indian religion: Nilamatapurāṇa. Ed. by R.L. Kanjilal and Pandit J. Zadoo, Lahore 1924, 1348; The Bhagavadgītā. Ed. by S. Radhakrishnan, Bombay 1971, (Indian Edition) Chapter XI; Mahābhārata, Calcutta 1834-1839, III, 38-41. etc cf. R.G. BHANDARKAR, op. cit. pp. 115-119; B.K. GOSWAMI, The Bhakti Cult in Ancient India, Varanasi 1965.
44. Pārvatī is Devī, the wife of Śiva.
45. Nārada is the messenger of the gods, a model of the devotee on the bhaktimarga see H. ZIMMER, Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization, New York 1962, p. 27; For his special concern with bathing places see Mahābhārata, I, 216-217; On his message concerning Śiva and Pārvatī see Kumārasambhavam. Text with English Transl. by H.H. Wilson, Varanasi 1966, (Indian Edition), I. 50; He is the leader of the Gandharvas, the supposed husbands of the apsaras: G. BIRDWOOD, The Industrial Arts of India, London 1880, p. 82; For the

nature of the apsaras see J. DOWSON, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, 5th ed. London 1913, p. 19.

46. Śambhu is a name of Śiva.
47. Indra is the lord of apsaras.
48. Maheśa "the Great God" is a name of Śiva.
49. We were unable to trace parallel with this motif in other sources.
50. The Kali age is the last and worst of the four ages.
51. Belief in the purificatory power of holy rivers and lakes can be adated back to a hoary age in India. In this connection can be mentioned the early development of sacred cities like Varanasi, Prayāg etc. See H. v. STIETENCRON, *Gāṅgā und Yamuna. Zur symbolischen Bedeutung der Flussgöttinnen an indischen Tempeln*, Wiesbaden 1972.
52. *Kathāsaritsāgara*...XVIII, 120 speaks of Nārada staying in heaven and playing musical instrument in Indra's court.
53. Here nāga means "lake". Usually nāg means "water-spring" in the Kashmiri.

Alak: B/5 — Terjedelem 19,7 (A/5) ív
Megjelenés 1978. Példányszám: 800
Felelős kiadó: az MTA Könyvtára főigazgatója
Készült az MTA Könyvtára házi sokszorosító
részlegében

468.

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